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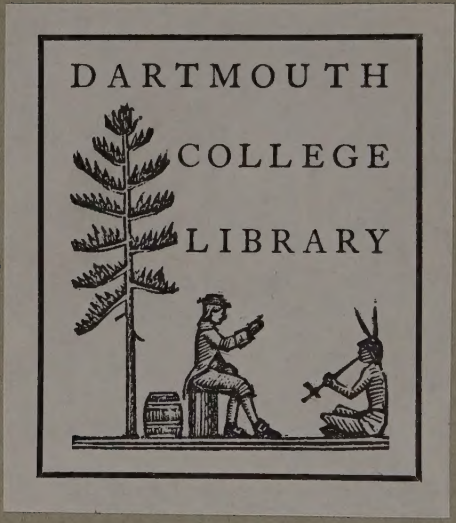

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HISTORY OF ART

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HISTORY OF ART

BY

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VOLUME TWO

NEW YORK AND LONDON

HARPER & BROTHERS

1927

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ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN ART
BYZANTINE ART
GERMANIC OR BARBARIAN ART.-CELTIC ART
CAROLINGIAN ART.-MOSLEM ART
ROMANESQUE ART
MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE OF CLUNY
AND THE CISTERCIAN ORDER.-GOTHIC ESTILE
FLEMISH ART IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Fig. 1. — Crypt of the Flavians. *Catacombs of Domitilla*. Rome.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN ART. — SYMBOLS AND FIGURES OF THE CATACOMBS. THE GOOD SHEPHERD. — EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE. — SARCOPHAGI.

It has generally been believed until recently that the first Christian art was that of the Roman catacombs and began during the persecutions of the early Christian church. We shall see in another chapter the part played by the Orient; the churches of Syria and especially Egypt were a most important factor in the colossal task of producing a complete artistic repertory suited to the needs of the new religion. To facilitate our study we shall, for the time being, accept provisionally the supposition that here in the bosom of the Roman Church, the pious sculptors and painters who decorated the early Christian cemeteries were the first to attempt a portrayal of the Evangelical themes, the symbolic figures which were later to represent the Saviour, the Virgin and the apostles and saints of the religious traditions. Even though we later come to recognize the fact that some of the painters of the catacombs were Orientals who had come to Rome with artistic ideas already formed, nevertheless these cemeteries will always be the principal source of the material for the study of the origin of the new art. The subterranean galleries of which the catacombs are composed are long tortu-

Fig. 2. — Plan of the catacombs of St. Calixtus. Rome.

ous passages and contain a complete series of pictorial representations of Christian society during the first four centuries of our era.

These underground cemeteries are all outside the city walls. The laws of the Empire prohibited the burial of the dead within the city, and the Pagan tombs of Rome are also found along the highways which radiate from the capital across the plains of Latium (fig. 2). Like many of the Pagan tombs, these Christian cemeteries were probably at first communal sepulchres designed to contain all the dead of a certain congregation. Roman law had long authorized the organization of citizens into *collegia*, or associations, which assessed their members and constructed common mausoleums which should furnish decorous interment for all their members. The very early congregations of the faithful doubtless availed themselves of this custom which permitted them to be joined in death, just as in life they had been closely united in the bosom of the church. We know that at first worship was carried on in chapels in private houses which would differ from the other rooms of the dwelling only in the absence of paintings or other objects which would be too sug-

Fig. 3. — Longitudinal and transverse section of the catacombs, near the Via Appia.

gestive of the Pagan religion. In the house of John and Paul discovered beneath the church later erected in their honor we find that erotic pictures were substituted in places by others of a religious character; indeed, the subject matter of the paintings often found on the walls of the houses of ancient Rome was obviously unsuitable. (Plate I.) On the other hand there could be no lack of a place of worship: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Here the Master would bring peace to the souls of the faithful and fortify their spirit with his love. A secluded room in the house of one of the faithful, therefore, was sufficient for their religious gatherings; here their devotional exercises could be carried on undisturbed. The Epistles of St. Paul give us a clear idea of the character of the Christian societies of the First Century. There were probably two or more flocks in a city, each with its own pastor, and in Rome each community must have had its own common burying ground outside the walls to which it held a legal title like the Pagan *collegium*.

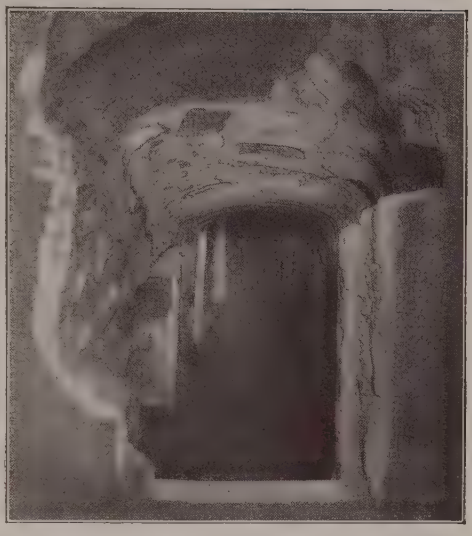


Fig. 4. — Catacombs of Domitilla. Rome. The interior of one of the galleries.

As persecutions increased in number, it was natural that the fraternities of true believers should feel still more strongly the necessity of possessing a safe place where they could deposit the last relics of their many martyrs, the confessors of a new faith. For this purpose they utilized the subterranean galleries in the outskirts of Rome from which the porous limestone called *puzzolana* had been taken to manufacture cement. The volcanic rock of the country contained veins of this material and innumerable galleries of this sort existed in which the Christians could easily bury their dead without fear of being molested. To convert these quarries into underground cemeteries, it was necessary only to straighten their walls somewhat and support the roof with light brick walls where the excavations had made it unsafe (figs. 1 and 4). Sometimes the dead were buried along the passages in niches extending lengthwise and closed by a slab of stone or terracotta which was covered with cement and duly inscribed (fig. 5). They also utilized the chambers where a number of galleries intersected and enlarged these spaces into small halls with chapels adjoining them. Here

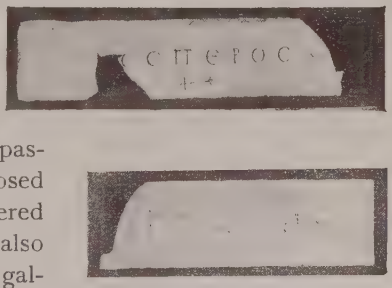
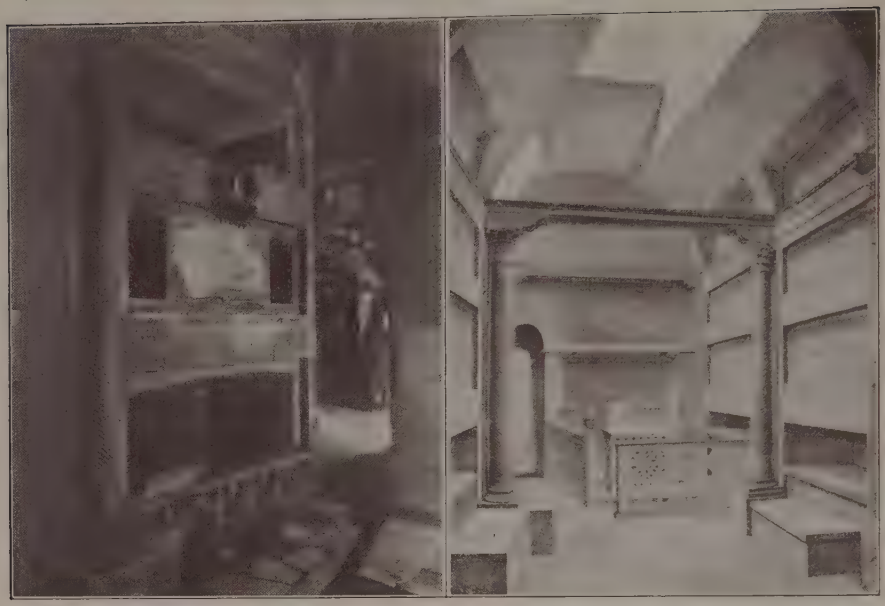


Fig. 5. — Epitaphs of Esperos and Urbicus from the Catacombs.



Figs. 6 and 7. — Crypt of the Popes. *Catacombs of St. Calixtus.* Rome.
(In its present state and as restored by Rossi.)

they deposited the bodies of the martyrs and those who had filled some office of importance in the church. In the walls of these cubicula they often hollowed out hemispherical recesses which formed a sort of shrine above the tombs of the martyrs. Here was set the marble urn containing the precious relics, and perhaps in early times these recesses were used as altars (fig. 8). For a long time, indeed, well into the Middle Ages, priests from the various churches of Rome went out on certain days to celebrate mass over the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs. The passages are very long and are undecorated except for some portions of the Catacombs of St. Calixtus and Domitilla. They are so narrow that only one person can pass at a time, and it is only in the chambers at the intersections of the galleries that we find decorations in color. In rare cases the larger rooms are lighted from the outside by means of a shaft, but generally there is no light whatever. The damp close air still renders a visit to the catacombs anything but agreable.

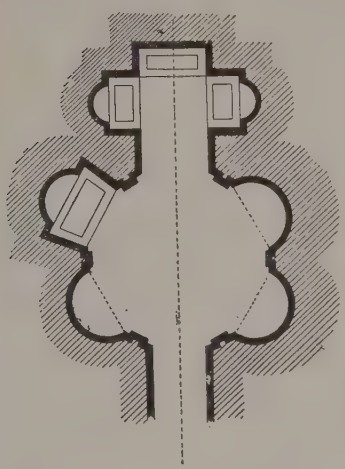


Fig. 8. — Cubiculum containing tombs of martyrs.
Catacombs of Praetextatus.

The work of enlargement and decoration of the interior of the catacombs went on until after the recognition of the church. In the Fourth Century the great Spanish Pope, Dam-

Wall painting in the house of the martyrs John and Paul. ROME.

Figs. 9, 10, 11 and 12. — Woman at prayer. *Catacombs of Lucina.* — Paralytic bearing his bed. *Catacombs of Peter and Marcellinus.* — *Fossores,* or excavators of the catacombs. *Paintings in the catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.*

asus I, zealously devoted himself to the work of beautifying the tombs of the martyrs. Filled with love for his sainted predecessors, he embellished the sepulchres of the *Episcopi Romani* with epitaphs in verse which he had taken a devout pleasure in composing. Pilgrims copied these and more or less complete collections of them have been preserved. They have been of great assistance in

Fig. 13. — Vault ornamented with paintings of the Good Shepherd, orantes, Cupids and nymphs' heads. *Catacombs of Lucina.* ROME.

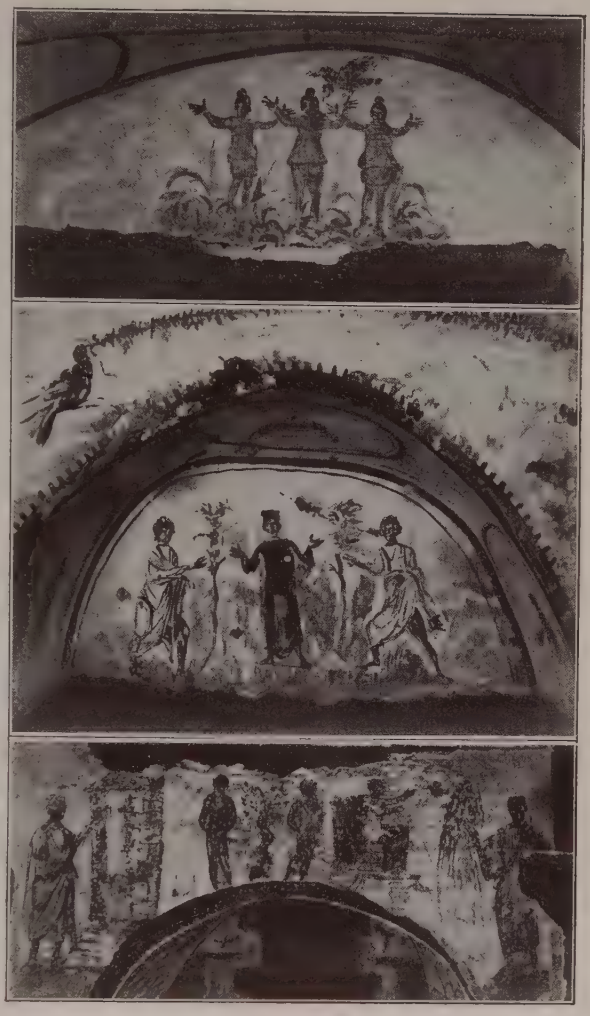
solving the problem of determining the topography of the catacombs, for a number of the inscriptions of St. Damasus have been discovered in situ. To inscribe his poetical epitaphs, Damasus availed himself of the services of an illustrious engraver of his time, Furius Philocalus, who employed a lettering of his own in which we find small curves in the angles of the letters. Whenever an inscribed stone is found in the catacombs bearing these so-called Damasian letters, a discovery of importance is at once indicated; by consulting the poems of St. Damasus it is often possible to determine the epitaph to which it belonged, even though only a few of the letters are decipherable, and in this manner to ascertain the identity of the martyrs buried in the crypt where it was found.

The veneration inspired by these souvenirs of the days of the persecutions brought many visitors during the first centuries of the Middle Ages after the conversion of Constantine; hence we have a number of lists of these cemeteries in the manuscripts which describe the itineraries of the pilgrims. They visited the catacombs in a certain order, beginning with certain ones and proceeding to those

lying nearest. They also made careful note of the names of the various crypts and the principal martyrs interred in each.

These lists have been of the utmost value in identifying the various portions of the catacombs, for the location of a known crypt indicates the identity of those lying adjacent.

The oldest of the more modern names inscribed by visitors bears the date of 1432. Early in the Sixteenth Century a young art enthusiast from Flanders, Philip de Vinghe, remained in Rome for a long time and had a number of copies made of the frescos in the catacombs. Together with several friends, all Romans, he systematically explored the labyrinths of the various cemeteries. A few years later a Maltese advocate, Antonio Bosio, took up the work and spent his life in investigations which were to be published in a general survey of subterranean Rome. Bosio's drawings and those made for Philip de Vinghe betray a lack of classical knowledge. Some of the personages in the copies wear the sleeves of a cardinal, and others are dressed in the costumes of the period in which the copies were made. About the middle of the last century, Giovanni de Rossi explored the catacombs again, bringing to his work all the ardor of the believer combined with the precision of a scientific investigator. It was Rossi who really inaugurated the present methods of Christian archaeology, seeking to determine the sites of the cemeteries referred to in the Acts of the Martyrs, the periods of the various paintings and



Figs. 14, 15 and 16. — The three youths in the fiery furnace. *Catacombs of Priscilla.* — Susannah and the Elders. *Catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.* — The raising of Lazarus. Adam and Eve. Noah and the ark. Moses upon the rock in Horeb. *Paintings in the Catacombs of Domitilla.*

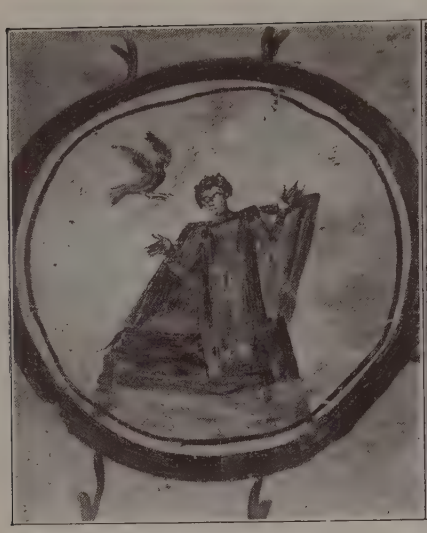


Fig. 17. — Noah coming out of the ark. *Catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.*

Fig. 18. — The prophecy of a Virgin Mother by Isaiah. *Catacombs of Lucina.*

the different series of themes. Guided by the Damasian inscriptions and the Acts of the Martyrs, Rossi was able to identify the more important portions of the catacombs, and he made the celebrated discovery of the famous crypt where Damasus had placed the remains of the Popes who preceded him. Although it only measured about eleven by fifteen feet, it was unquestionably the most artistically decorated chamber in the catacombs. Rossi's restoration gives us some idea of the simple and modest arrangement of the burial chamber where these venerated tombs were discovered (figs. 6 and 7).

The exploration of the Roman catacombs is now being carried on by a papal commission, the leading spirit of which is Professsor Horacio Marucchi. Every year new galleries are being excavated and new crypts discovered, laying bare sarcophagi and paintings. In Wilpert's modern publication in German and Italian, *Die Malereien der Katakomben,* magnificent colored plates reproduce all the frescos discovered up to the year 1912.

From an artistic point of view the most important feature of the catacombs is their painted decorations (figs. 9 to 24). The architecture of these Roman burial-places would give us but a poor idea of early Christian art. The galleries are constructed with very little regularity, and the little chapels are roofed with the rudest sort of vaults cut from the rock. The arches over the niches are often very irregular, and the stucco on which the pictures are painted is much inferior to that usually employed by the painters of that period. Nevertheless, the burial inscriptions give us an infinity of details concerning the company of *fossores,* or grave-diggers and excavators of these underground cemeteries. In some places we see these figures painted on the side of a tomb, pick in hand, in the very act of opening new galleries (figs. 11 and 12). The eulogies in the inscriptions accompanying them indicate the esteem in which they were held by the congre-

Fig. 19. — A. Orpheus. *Catacombs of Domitilla.* — B. The raising of Lazarus. The adoration of the Magi. The paralytic. *Catacombs of Domitilla.* — C. The changing of the water into wine. *Catacombs of Priscilla.* — D. The raising of Lazarus. *Catacombs of St. Calixtus.* — E. Canopy in Catacombs of St. Calixtus. — F. Miracle of the loaves and fishes. *Catacombs of St. Calixtus.*

gations of the faithful. Nevertheless, the pious workmen of early Christian times have not left in the catacombs any artistic manifestation which would reveal the creation of a new architectural type, no capital or other form which became traditional in later Christian architecture.

It is to the paintings of these burial-places that we must ascribe the honor of being the first artistic manifestation of the new religion. At first the decorative themes were those of Pagan art; during the First Century the painters of the catacombs reproduced the familiar little Cupids weaving garlands and the birds, grape-vines, flowers and other motives of a purely ornamental character. If a writer so little open to suspicion as St. Augustine could still give the advice that: "Pro-

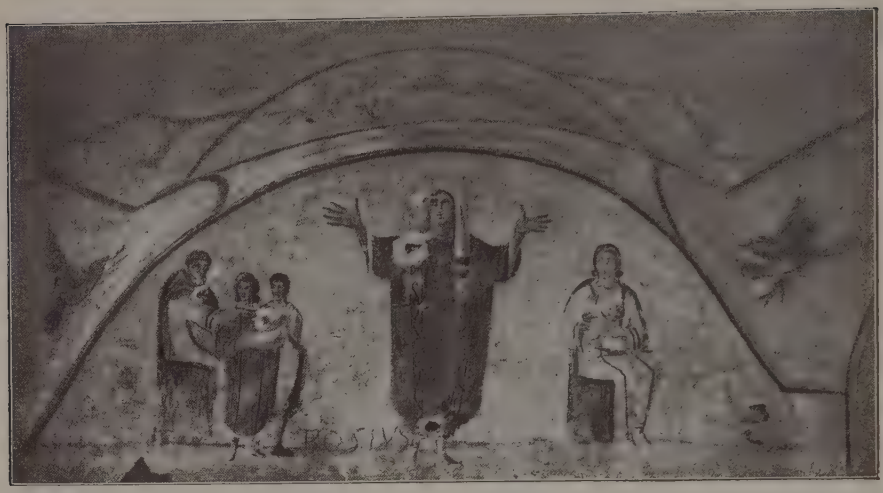


Fig. 20. — Woman at prayer amid a group of the faithful. *Catacombs of Priscilla.* (In the lower portion of the painting there is a modern graffito by Bosio.)

fani si quid bene dixerunt, non aspernandum," that is, Christians could profitably learn from profane authors in so far as their writings were in accordance with the truth, the Christian artists had all the more reason for making use of a Pagan repertory, lacking as they did any rules or traditions for their own religious pictures. We see, for example, in the catacombs of the First Century representations of the Sun, the myth of Cupid and Psyche symbolizing the union of the soul with God, the winds and the seasons (fig. 13). Sometimes the compartments of the vault-decorations contain seminude figures of languid nymphs, those lovely personifications of the woods and springs, although even in these earliest frescos of the catacombs we note already a certain reserve and sweetness that is a prophecy of the noble creations of a purely Christian character which the new era was to bring forth.

The first Biblical personages to be represented in the catacombs were those of the Old Testament, but they all allude to the theme of the Messiah, his life, death and resurrection. Moses bringing forth water from the rock is a symbol of the baptism; the sacrifice of Isaac is an allusion to the new sacrifice on the cross; and Jonah and the great fish represent the burial and resurrection. In the same manner the three young Hebrews in the fiery furnace recalled the purification, and in Susannah we see the fidelity of Christ's love. Tobias, Job and David all represent the rebirth through love, the new man created in our soul by the Word. These early representations began to occur in large numbers during the last years of the First Century, and they must have required a considerable effort of the imagination on the part of the painters of the catacombs, for the Mosaic laws of the Jews had rigorously prohibited the reproduction of religious scenes. A tradition which we might call Judaic was being developed, making the task doubly hard. At first the artists were required to present a series of Biblical themes taken from the Old Testament; later they entered whole-heartedly into the under-

taking of creating a genuine Christian repertory. Whenever it was possible, they availed themselves of the elements already existing in classical art. For example, Noah, with the ark and dove are taken from the old classical models. Noah is dressed like one of the philosophers; the ark is a small chest similar to the one in which Perseus was placed with Danae in the ancient paintings; while the flying dove is the same which we find in connection with the figure of Venus (fig. 17).

Fig. 21. – The Good Shepherd. *Catacombs of Lucina.*

Often these symbols occur independently and accompanying the inscriptions. Although the Pagan unbelievers still gave them a mythological significance, to the true followers of the Christian religion they possessed a new and mystic import of a more profound character. The dove represented peace and the resurrection; the anchor was the cross; and the fish was the Ichthys, the symbol of Christ. "Let it not afflict you to be taken by the Divine Fisherman," said one of the Church Fathers, "but take hold of the hook by which the Saviour draws you forth." The dove was also a symbol of the happiness of the martyrs after death, while the phoenix and peacock were emblems of the resurrection.

Classical themes still persisted in the Second Century. Orpheus, surrounded by the wild beasts which had been tamed by the music of his lyre, was too plain an allusion to Christ to be completely forgotten (fig. 19, A). To many of the early Christians, Orpheus seemed to be a figure prophetic of the coming of the Saviour. With his songs he had raised the walls of the ideal city; impelled by love he had descended into Hell in search of his wife; and his fateful end was easily interpreted as a prophecy of the tragedy on Calvary. But at the same time Christian themes also began to ap-

Fig. 22. – The Virgin and the Christ-child. *Coementerium Majus.*

Fig. 23. — Consecration of the bread. Cubiculum of the Sacraments. *Catacombs of St. Calixtus.*

pear illustrating the Gospel texts. This repertory was not a large one; the same representations were constantly repeated with little variation; the reproduction of a given type, so characteristic of ancient art, continued to be a distinctive feature of Christian art. To be convinced of this we have only to compare the theme of the paralytic with his bed as presented in the Catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus (fig. 10) with the similar picture in the Catacombs of Domitilla (fig. 19, B). The close resemblance of the paintings of the raising of Lazarus in the Catacombs of Domitilla and those of St. Calixtus plainly show the strict uniformity with which these types were repeated.

But Christian life had brought into being a sentiment which demanded something more than these illustration of the Gospels; figures of the protagonists of the new faith were lacking. Two ideas preoccupied the minds of the faithful which called for plastic representation. One was a figure which would be an expression of the soul in prayer; the other was that of the Mediator, the Christ who brings the soul to God. These have been the two principal figures in the Christian life in every period when sincere feeling has been dominant, Christ and the devout soul, the bridegroom and the bride, the Good Shepherd and the sheep. Never has this mystic idyl been rendered with more delicate feeling than in the catacombs of Rome.

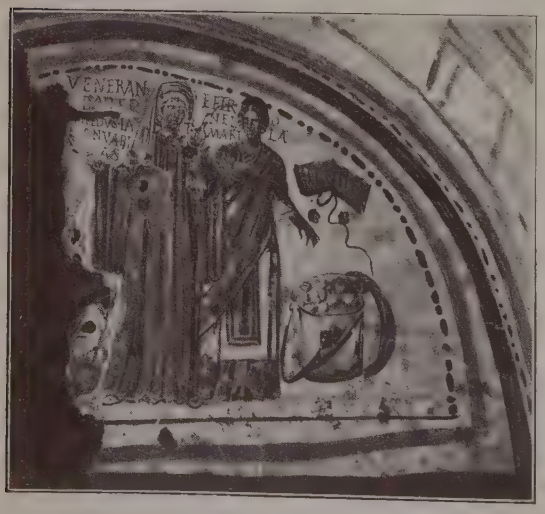
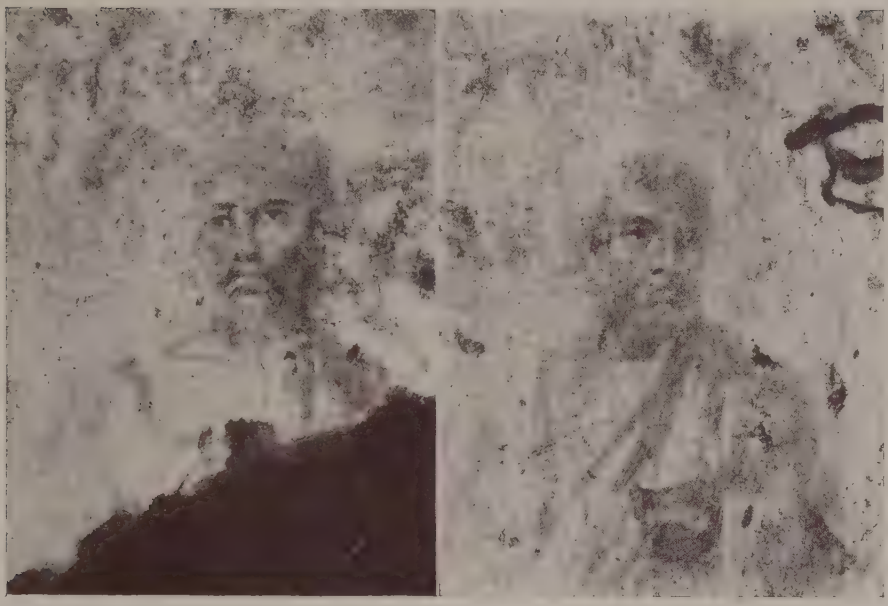


Fig. 24. — The martyrs Veneranda and Domitilla. *Catacombs of Domitilla.*

The Christian soul communicates with God through the agency of prayer. The Old Testament frequently dwells upon its efficacy: "O thou that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come," says the Psalmist, and the entire doctrine of Christ centers about this act. So it was natural that the early Christians should



Figs. 25 and 26. — So-called portraits of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, in the tomb discovered in 1921 near the Porta Maggiore. ROME.

desire an artistic expression of this communion with God which brought such loving consolation and was the most important practice of his religion. In the Sixty-Third Psalm we read: "Thus will I bless thee while I live: I will lift up my hands in thy name." The first attitude of prayer among the early Christians was, so far as we are able to judge from the paintings of the catacombs, that of uplifted hands (figs. 9 and 20). The figures of the *orantes* are the most typical and expressive of the entire repertory of early Christian art. It is a type which belongs to the catacombs; nothing resembling it is seen in classical art, and, strangely enough, it was not developed to any great extent in later times when Christian art had emerged from these underground cemeteries.

The female figures are dressed in a long tunic with a veil covering the hair and falling down over the shoulders. The men wear a short mantle and their hands are in an attitude of prayer. (Plate II.) Indeed, nothing could be more simple than their apparel. At the side of each is a legend containing the name of the deceased and the invocation, *in pace*. The praying figure was meant to represent the Christian, both here on earth and in the life to come. Sometimes all the members of a family were represented as *orantes* in the same scene. But as time went on the artist became more explicit and went so far as to portray the Lord's Supper. The various personages of the scene are here seated about a table, giving us a picture of the first eucharistic feasts.

Along with this figure representing the soul engrossed in prayer, that of the Bridegroom was sure to develop. Representations of the Master could not but follow those of the *orantes*. It should be recognized that this involved enormous difficulties. The painters of the catacombs knew only the idealized figure

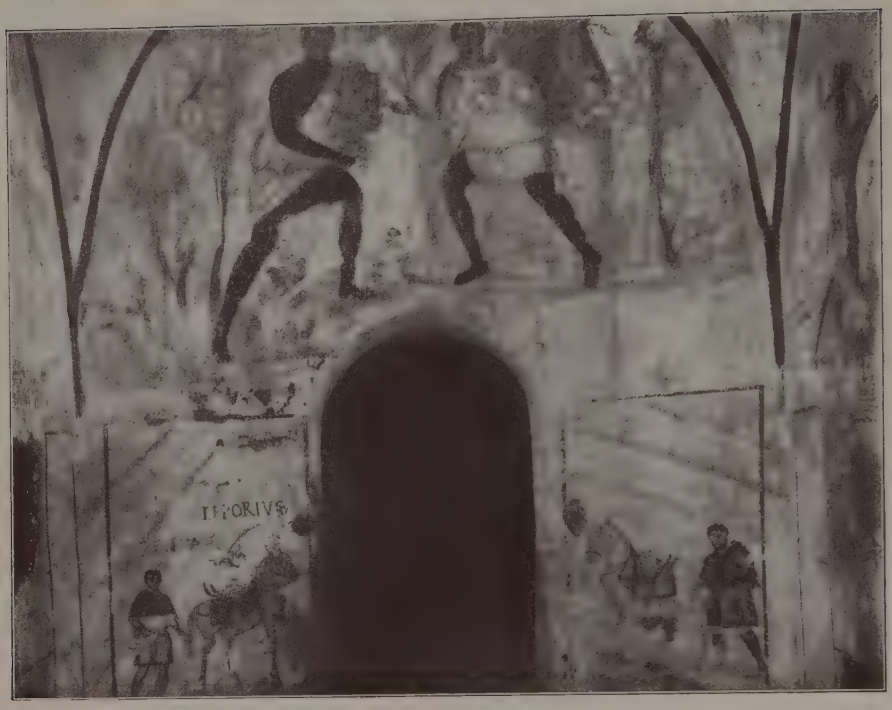


Fig. 27. — The vintage. Heretical crypt discovered in 1912. Rome.

of the Gospels, and now they were required to create a plastic representation of the Christ. St. Paul tells us: "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," so even to the disciples themselves the essential figure of Christ must have been something different from his appearance in the body. The life of the Saviour, also, would be most difficult for the first artists of the catacombs to portray in plastic form, accustomed as they were to the representations of classical art. As St. Paul tells us: "For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness."

We must all agree that to a newly converted artist, educated in a school of painting or sculpture which executed images of the old gods, this new type of the youthful Son of Man crucified between two thieves must have seemed a terrible conception, one almost impossible to portray. Fortunately the parable of the Good Shepherd furnished a theme in which they could turn to Pagan art for a precedent. The young shepherd carrying upon his shoulders a new-born lamb had been a subject familiar to Greek art ever since the archaic period. The so-called "Calf carrier," or cowherd bearing a calf and other similar figures in the Museum in the Acropolis at Athens are well known, and in Alexandrian art the theme of the handsome youth with a lamb upon his shoulder was repeated times without number. To the Christian artist this figure took on a new dignity, and he gave it an expression of ineffable serenity. The Christian

Shepherd stands motionless, filled with extatic rapture, revealing his joy at having rescued the strayed lamb (figs. 13 and 21). Sometimes we see the Good Shepherd seated in a landscape, while the sheep of his flock feed upon the green pasture around him.

We also find the Saviour represented in a number of scenes taken from the Gospels, as in the raising of Lazarus and the marriage at Cana; but never during the first four centuries of our era do we see represented scenes of the Passion of our Lord. There was evidently a certain feeling against the portrayal of the death and resurrection of Christ in any other manner than by the allegorical symbols which we have already discussed. In the frescos of the catacombs we see a youthful beardless Jesus with at most only a light down covering his upper lip.

The figure of the Virgin and the scene of the Nativity are first seen in the catacombs. Bosio described and published a reproduction of the famous fresco representing the prophecy of Isaiah: "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Here the prophet stands before a seated woman who holds a child at her breast, while above shines the star of Bethlehem (fig. 18). Nevertheless, representations of the Virgin are extremely rare. There has been more or less argument as to whether the mystical woman in figure 22 was Mary, or merely a mother at prayer and holding her child in her arms. More often we find the Virgin in the scene of the adoration of the Magi, of whom there are sometimes three and again four. They wear the Phrygian cap which characterized the Oriental in Roman art and bear gifts to the Child which is seated upon the knees of the mother. Bosio, it appears, also discovered the scene of the adoration of the shepherds, but it has since disappeared. The series of Evangelical representations of the catacombs ends with the parable of the prudent and foolish virgins; here it is a variant of the scene of the banquet, or Lord's Supper.

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Fig. 28. — Statue of the Good Shepherd from the catacombs. *(The Lateran.)*

Four allegorical scenes symbolizing the sacraments have also been found in a small cubiculum. These are the Baptism, the Eucharist, Marriage and Extreme Unction. We can readily understand the lively interest which these frescos have awakened in the minds of students of ecclesiastical history. As we are engaged only in tracing the development of the various artistic types, these paint-

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Fig. 29.—Small marble statue of Jesus. *(Museum delle Terme.)* ROME.

ings in the Chapel of the Sacraments are of far less importance to us than are the figures of the Good Shepherd and of the Christian at prayer which have a genuine esthetic value. In the painting representing the Eucharist we see the small table bearing the bread and the figure of the priest in the act of consecrating it. At his side an *orante* raises his hands in spiritual preparation, no doubt, for the mystic supper (fig. 23).

We finally note in the catacombs what almost amounts to the worship of the Holy Martyrs, the confessors of the faith, who were interred in them. We see in the fresco of the Catacombs of Domitilla the figures of the martyrs, Veneranda and Petronilla, and at their feet the chest containing the rolls of the Scriptures (fig. 24). An Act of various Oriental martyrs recently discovered in a Syrian translation brings to light the fact that the faithful came before the judge who was to try them, bringing the Epistles of St. Paul as their only defence for the trial. In 1921, while excavations were being made for the erection of a building near the Porta Maggiore, a crypt was discovered containing Christian paintings, among them eleven large figures which are probably the oldest known representations of the Apostles (figs. 25 and 26). Cubicula were decorated with paintings not only by the orthodox Christians, but also by the heretical sects which began to grow up in the early Roman Church. A tomb of the latter type was discovered at Rome in 1912 (fig. 27).

In connection with these Christian burials we find a considerable number of sculptures in the full round representing the Good Shepherd (fig. 28), and the small statue of a seated figure has also been discovered which is believed to be that of Jesus (fig. 29). It is the same beardless youth which we have seen in the frescos. Not until the late Fourth Century did the face of the Saviour take on the beard and moustache which were later to become so definitely characteristic of every artistic conception of Christ. Scenes and figures from the Gospels were also carved on the sarcophagi, and on their marble sides we see reproduced the themes already developed in the paintings. At first the Christians buried their dead in sarcophagi which had been purchased in the ordinary marble-carving establishments of Rome and the principal provincial cities. They avoided choosing those which were decorated with the erotic scenes so popular in Pagan art, preferring themes like that of the vintage which could be considered as referring to the Eucharist (fig. 30), or the myths of Orpheus and Proserpine, symbols of the resurrection. Recent investigations by Cumont have demonstrated that rep-

Orante. *Fresco of the catacombs of Domitilla.* ROME.

Fig. 30. — Sarcophagus decorated with vintage scenes and figures of the Good Shepherd. *(Museum of the Lateran.)*

resentations of the Sun-myth, Proserpine, Orpheus and the like were to the Pa gan allusions to the life after death. The Christian themes painted in the catacombs began to appear more and more frequently on the sarcophagi, but when a sculptor had exhausted the artistic repertory of the new religion, he would often decorate the front of a sarcophagus with the old classical motives.

The best known sarcophagus of a purely Christian character is the one in the Museum of the Lateran which G. de Rossi named the Theological Sarcophagus, because of the deep feeling for the significance of the Scriptures displayed by its sculptor (fig. 31). In the centre is a clypeus, the symbol of immortality, on which are the portraits of the deceased. Above is the creation of Adam and Eve and the expulsion from Paradise; below is the adoration of the Magi, a symbol of the reincarnation of the new man through faith. Below the expulsion from Paradise is the cure of the man blind from birth. Beneath the raising of Lazarus is the water springing from the rock in Horeb. Thus the entire relief is a plastic interpretation of the parallelism of the Old and New Testaments.

The sarcopahagi of the Roman shops spread the Christian iconography of the catacombs. In the provinces we know of at least one centre at Arles where

Fig. 31. — The so-called Theological Sarcophagus. *(Museum of the Lateran.)* Rome.

there were shops of marble-workers who copied with some variation the sarcophagi of Rome. In Spain there are some twenty Christian sarcophagi which date from first centuries of our era.

Besides the Roman catacombs there are other subterranean cemeteries containing paintings at Naples (fig. 32), in Sicily, Malta and in Cyrenaica in North ern Africa. In Spain Christian catacombs have been discovered at Merida and Carmona.

Summary.—The Roman catacombs consist of a series of subterranean galleries which the Christians utilized as cemeteries during the first four centuries of our era. Visited by pilgrims during the early Middle Ages, they were later abandoned, and their systematic exploration may be said to date only from the middle of the last century, when the work of G. de Rossi began. At the intersections of the galleries there are sometimes chapels, or cubicula, decorated with paintings. The earliest of these pictures represent Pagan themes accompanied only by a certain vague Christian symbolism. Then they began to portray scenes from the Old Testament which were prophetic of the life and mission of Christ, and still later we find representations of the Good Shepherd, and the *Orante*, a Christian figure in an attitude of prayer. Pictures of the Virgin and the holy martyrs are also found in the catacombs, some of which are believed to be portraits. Christian sculptures of the early period consist of sarcophagi carved in relief and reproducing the same types found in the paintings. The only sculpture in the full round is the statue of the Good Shepherd.

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Fig. 32. — Catacombs of San Gennaro. Naples.

Fig. 33. — S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Rome.

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIAN ROMAN ART AFTER THE RECOGNITION OF THE CHURCH.
THE FIRST BASILICAS. — MOSAICS. — IVORIES. — RITUAL OBJECTS.
SEATS, PULPITS AND CANDELABRA.

We have already noted that the first Christian places of worship must have been in private homes. We read in the acts of the Apostles: "And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place." This was the "upper room" where they usually met together. Their religious services probably consisted of prayers and breaking bread and drinking wine in the manner the Saviour had taught them. We are told further, "And all that believed were together and had all things in common." Although they sometimes met in the shelter of the Portico of Solomon, St. Stephen made it plain in his speech before the Sanhedrin that the Christians did not recognize the peculiar sanctity of the temple at Jerusalem. Indeed, he quoted the words of Isaiah: "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all things?"

Systematic exploration of the older churches of Rome has shown us that almost always the remains of a private house lie beneath the pavement. A

Fig. 34. — Cubiculum in the form of a church in the Catacombs of S. Agnese. Rome.

private palace originally occupied the site of the Lateran; there is a house underneath S. Clemente, and the same is true of S. Maria Maggiore, S. Pudenziana, the Basilica of SS. John and Paul and most of the churches discussed in this chapter. The Christians probably met for religious services in the principal hall of the house of some prominent member of the congregation. The records of the martyrdom of St. Caecilia tell us that she was beheaded in her own home which was a meeting place of the Christians. This lady was of noble family, and the remains of her house still lie beneath the church which was later erected upon the sacred spot. We can readily understand how centuries later the faithful would still hold in devout veneration the places where in the great days of the new religion the Fathers had gathered together "in spirit and in truth," and where they had shed their blood for the sake of Christ. After a time, it is probable that in the rooms used for their unassuming worship there was a special place for the pastor and the deacons and possibly there were separate divisions for the men and women. In an oratorio discovered in the Catacombs of S. Agnese in 1841 by P. Marchi there is a cubiculum containing a bishop's seat hewn from the rock together with benches for his assistants (fig. 35, A). One portion was evidently intended for the choir (figure 35, B); next was the place for the men (C and D); and further on were divisions intended for the women (F and G). The walls of this oratorio are lined with niches in which the bodies of the faithful were buried. The sarcophagus (H) at one end probably held the remains of some saint, and upon it the Eucharist was celebrated.

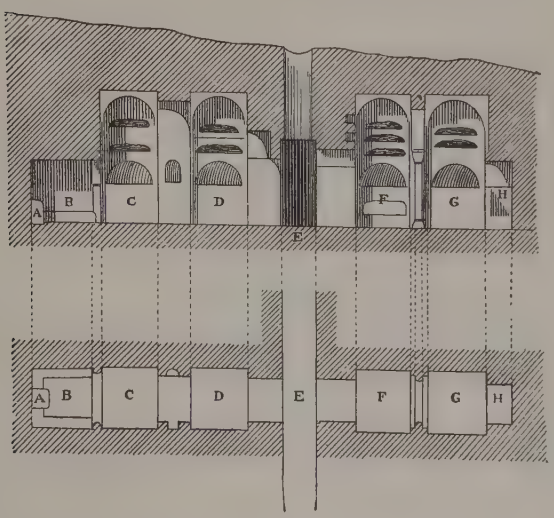

Fig. 35. — Plan and cross-section of the cubiculum in the church in the Catacombs of S. Agnese. Rome.

The Basilica of S. Petronilla in the Catacombs of Domitilla represents another

stage in the development of the Christian church (figs. 36 and 37). It is partly subterranean, for the pavement is still about thirteen feet below the level of the ground which has probably risen but little as it was some distance from the river and not subject to innundations. De Rossi discovered it in 1873 while searching for the entrance to the catacombs which lie behind the apse. In its present form it consists of a basilica with a nave and two aisles. The columns have been set up again upon the pavement, but no attempt has been made to restore the upper portion.

Figs. 36 and 37. — The basilica of S. Petronilla in the Catacombs of Domitilla (before and after restoration).

Toward the end of the persecutions and before the Edict of Milan and the official recognition of the Church by the Roman government, it is believed that the new religion first manifested itself in a temple erected above ground upon the site of the catacombs. The entrance to these underground cemeteries was marked by a small chapel called a *cella memoriae*. In addition to the written descriptions of these chapels, we have two well preserved examples of them at the entrance to the Catacombs of S. Calixtus at Rome (fig. 38). These were small *cellae* constructed of brick and containing an apse in which the first altars were set and from which a stairway often led to the subterranean passages below.

This type of chapel did not develop to any great extent in Rome because as soon as Christianity became the State religion, magnificent basilicas were placed at the disposal of the Church; but in Africa and Spain the evolution of the *cella memoriae* continued throughout the early period of the faith and it became the first Christian church. Here this *cella* became larger as time went on, and new halls were constructed about it which served for various purposes connected with the church and were used as burial places as well. The remains of the faithful were interred in sarcophagi, several layers of the latter being often found beneath the floor of the church or in the surrounding area. A well known example of this is the cemetery discovered at Tabarca on the coast of Tunis which contains five layers of sarcophagi decorated with typical mosaic incrustations. In Spain a similar cella has been laid bare at Manacor on the Island of Mallorca, and another has been found near the port of the Graeco-Roman city of Ampurias in the Northeast of the peninsula (fig. 39).

Here we have what are probably the three types in which the Christian

Fig. 38. — Chapel above the Catacombs of S. Calixtus. Rome.

church originated, the private house, the cubiculum of the catacombs and the chapels constructed over the underground cemeteries.

Owing to the veneration which they have at all times inspired, a number of the ancient basilicas and baptisteries dating from the time of the conversion of Constantine are still preserved in Rome. It has been generally admitted without question that the first Christian basilicas were pagan buildings which Constantine turned over to the Church to serve as temples for the new religion. This is further confirmed by the similarity of the Christian basilicas to the ancient structures which served as places of assembly and where business contracts were made. Such a theory is the more acceptable when we consider the fact that Rome abounded in great basilicas which were no longer in use during these centuries of decadence. The restoration and use of these buildings would arouse little opposition. Indeed, Constantine himself demolished the Arch of Trajan in order to make use of the sculptures which covered it, and Serena, the wife of Stilicho, committed the sacrilege of converting to her own use the jewels of the Temple of Venus and Roma. Both from the imperial edicts commanding the people

Fig. 39. — *Cella memoriae* in the Graeco-Roman city of Ampurias. Spain.

Fig. 40. — Restoration of the group of the palace and church of the Lateran as it appeared during the Middle Ages.

to preserve the magnificent buildings of Rome and from the writings of ecclesiastical authors, we learn that the great half-deserted city was filled with amphitheatres threatening to fall to ruin, abandoned baths and basilicas and unfrequented forums. Many of these buildings required only slight restorations and were easily converted into churches. But in spite of all this the Popes, whenever possible, preferred to erect new structures beside the great monuments of Imperial Rome. The desire for something new was too strong for those of the early *Episcopi Romani* who had sufficient resources at their disposal not to wish to commemorate their pontificate by erecting or rebuilding basilicas which should bear their names. They covered their baptisteries with resplendent mosaics and decorated with paintings the triclinia, or assembly halls, of their palaces and the crypts of the martyrs in the cemeteries. The papal chronicles of these first centuries, known as the *Liber Pontificalis,* are filled with accounts of the new structures which the Apostolic Church continued to erect in every quarter of the city.

As a usual thing these Christian buildings were constructed on a new plan, and although the ancient monuments were utilized in a few cases, they were hardly recognizable after they had been restored by the Popes. An excellent example of this is the Palace of the Lateran which was the residence of the Popes all during the Middle Ages (fig. 40). Only in the Fifteenth Century did they move over to the Vatican. Originally the Lateran Palace belonged to the family of Sextius Lateranus, a plebeian consul who had become rich in office and whose descendants lived in considerable affluence. Nero finally confiscated their wealth, and the handsome palace became imperial property. It was part of the dowry of Fausta, the sister of the Emperor Maxentius, when she became the wife of Constantine. As a token of his good will toward the new religion, the latter ceded it in 323 to Pope Sylvester who made it the ecclesiastical centre of the Roman Church. After many alterations the Lateran finally came to consist of the palace, the basilica, the baptistery and a large number of subordinate buildings. Only a portion of the walls of the original *palatium* still remain standing, incorporated in the present Renaissance structure. Further on we shall discuss the baptistery which is in a fair state of preservation and still retains its mosaics and red porphyry columns.

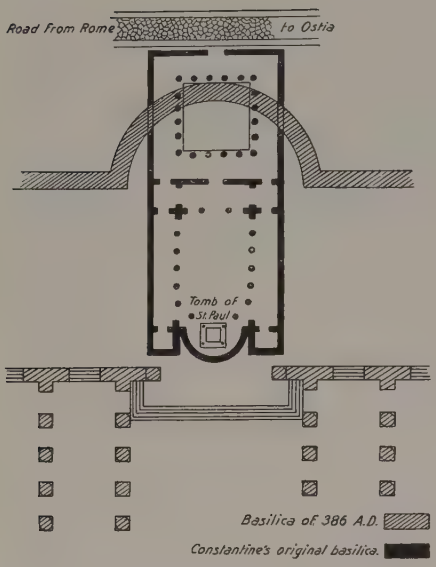

Fig. 41. — Relative position of the two basilicas of S. Paul.

As it was one of the imperial residences, it seems likely that there was already a basilica in connection with the Lateran, probably the same one which Pope Sylvester converted into the first great Christian church. But the tradition that Constantine himself took part personally in this work indicates that in any case a thorough transformation took place.

The Lateran Church which still bears the title, "Mother and Head of all the churches of Rome and of the world," has suffered to such an extent from the successive restorations which it has undergone that we might almost leave it out of our discussion of early Christian art. Figure 40 gives us some idea of its probable appearance during the Middle Ages with its church, baptistery and various annexes. In front stood the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, the church lay behind the palace, and the cloisters and baptistery group were at one side.

Simultaneously with the transformation of the basilica of the Lateran in 324, Constantine ordered the construction of two churches of a new design above the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The latter structure was at

Figs. 42 and 43. — S. Paul. The old basilica after the fire of 1823. Rome.

PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 44. — S. Paul (as now restored).

first the smaller of the two, for the site of St. Paul's tomb was only about a hundred feet from the highway leading from Rome to Ostia. As it was necessary to set the altar directly above the sepulchre, its location limited the size of the church. In 386, however, it was decided to change the orientation of the church in such a manner that without moving the altar above the tomb, the basilica itself would extend in the opposite direction. We see in figure 41 the relative position of the two apses. The second church, much larger and composed of a nave and four aisles, was preserved until early in the last century. The destruction of the venerable basilica of St. Paul by fire in 1823 was perhaps the most serious loss Christian art has suffered in modern times (figs. 42 and 43).

Fortunately the altar, apse and subterranean crypt containing the body of the Saint were not destroyed, and enough remained of the nave and aisles to permit the restoration of the basilica in all its pristine splendor. But most of the old mosaic decorations were lost. The only ones which were not destroyed were those of the apse and the triumphal arch at the further end which still bear the dedicatory inscription of Galla Placidia at whose expense they were executed. Since the restoration of the church, the Popes have taken care that the new building should be worthy of its predecessor in every way. The columns which now separate the nave and aisles are carved from solid blocks of polished granite, and the pavement is of handsome marble and other hard stone (fig. 44).

No such limitations existed in the case of the church erected over the tomb of St. Peter, and the original structure was built with all the magnificence befitting the memory of the "Chief of the Apostles." The body of St. Peter has always been the object of special solicitude on the part of the Popes. The Saint was at first buried in the Catacombs of the Vatican, and it is probable that it was removed for safety to another crypt. But forty years later it was returned to

Fig. 45.—Interior of the Vatican basilica before the present church was built. *Fresco by Pinturicchio.* SIENA.

the original burying-place close to the spot where he suffered martyrdom. The sepulchre is in a shaft beneath the altar and has never since been opened.

The basilica of Constantine constructed above the tomb was somewhat larger than that of St. Paul. It, too, consisted of a nave and four aisles separated by four rows of twenty-three columns each. These were monolithic shafts of granite and marble surmounted by Corinthian capitals and supporting a horizontal entablature. Those of St. Paul, on the other hand, bore a series of arches. The basilica of St. Peter had its triumphal arch which, together with the apse, was also decorated with mosaics. In the apse was the figure of the Saviour with St. Peter and St. Paul on either side. The ceilings of the nave and aisles were flat, and the walls were ornamented with frescoes and mosaics by the greatest artists of Italy, particularly Pietro Cavallini and Giotto. The columns had been taken from ancient monuments, indeed, all the quarries were represented. Grimaldi writes that no two columns were the same, and the friezes that extended from pillar to pillar were equally ill matched (figs. 45 and 46).

At one side were the two baptisteries with their interior abutments which left ample room for tombs between them. In front of the basilica was a cloistered atrium in the centre of which was a magnificent antique bronze pine-cone which is still preserved in the garden della Pigna in the Vatican. In figure 47 is a sketch of the old basilica which was made before the great Renaissance church was constructed by Bramante and Michel Angelo. This shows the court as it appeared at the end of the Fifteenth Century. In the background is the basilica with its pediment and the mosaics between the windows like those of many of the early churches of Rome. The arrangement of the latter is that still to be seen in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (fig. 33), S. Maria in Aracoeli and S. Maria in Trastevere. The old basilica of the Vatican was already weakened and impaired by age when it was decided to replace it with the present Renaissance church. The walls on one side were found to be about three feet out of plumb, and

many of the timbers were worm-eaten and rotten. Nevertheless its destruction was one of the greatest misfortunes ever suffered by art; the loss of the ancient frescoes and mosaics that lined its walls is indeed irreparable.

Next to the church of S. Paul, that of S. Maria Maggiore gives us the best idea of the early basilicas of any of the churches of Rome (fig. 48). It is believed by many to be not only the best preserved, but also the most ancient in all Rome, for it appears to have been an ordinary pagan basilica and not a Christian place of worship prior to the recognition of the Church by Constantine. Its well matched columns support a horizontal architrave, and the building gives the impression of a purely classical monument. According to modern scholars who have made a study of the mosaics in connection with certain symbols and religious controversies, these cannot be later than the Fourth Century, so before the execution of these decorations the structure must have been a private basilica. It is believed to have been the basilica Sicinini, the residence of a family of that name. It is not unlikely that one of the patricians converted to Christianity transformed the great hall of his palace into a church. Papal traditions, however, tell us that S. Maria Maggiore was built by Pope Liberius about the middle of the Fourth Century. Be that as it may, the great nave of S. Maria with its rectangular plan and simple and spacious elevation is one of the finest monuments of early Christian Rome still in existence.

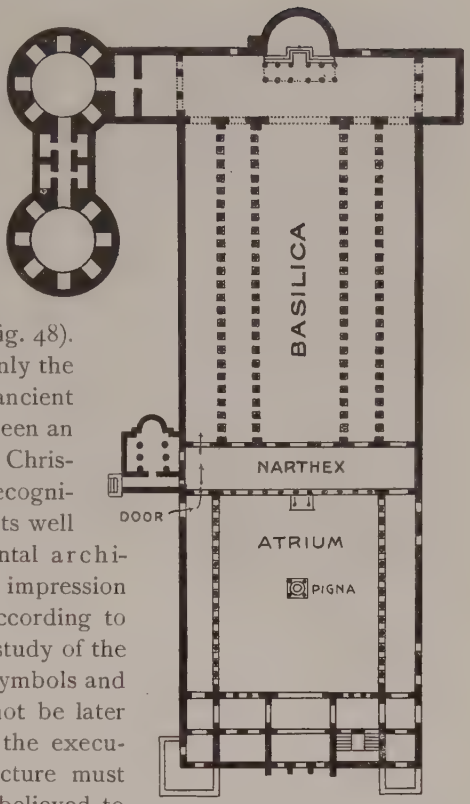

Fig. 46. — Plan of the original basilica of S. Peter, Rome.

We do know, however, the precise date of the erection of another of the Constantinian churches of Rome. This is S. Agnese, a beautiful basilica that is still partly subterranean. It was constructed in 324 above the catacombs where this saint was buried. Much smaller than S. Paul, S. Maria and S. Peter, it has a singular grace, almost feminine, if we may use the word, that is well suited to the pious commemoration of the modest virgin who is still the beloved patron saint of the shepherds of the district around Rome. It consists of a nave and two aisles, and over the latter are galleries that may have formed the gyneceum, or portion reserved for the women. The columns are all handsome antique marbles of varied colors: red, green, black, yellow and white, all combined in a manner that is at once charming and ingenious. In the apse we still see the mosaics of the Seventh Century. The ceiling of the nave is flat (fig. 49). The

Fig. 47. — The basilica of S. Peter and the palace of the Vatican prior to the erection of the present great church.

church is not improved by the modern paintings and other decorations presented by patron cardinals whose zeal outran their discretion.

Not nearly so beautiful, but much less restored, is the basilica of S. Clemente, accidentally discovered in 1857 beneath the present church. It was well known that the church of S. Clemente was originally built over the house of the saint on the Caelian hill, for St. Jerome mentions it in a letter written in 392. About the end of the Eleventh Century the old church was destroyed by fire and was subsequently rebuilt. As by this time the level of the city had risen considerably, the new edifice was constructed above the old one which thus became the foundation of the present church (fig. 50). Nevertheless the old plan was preserved, and the movable furnishings were transferred to the new building, among them the altar, the marble screens which enclosed the choir in the centre of the nave and the pulpits for the Gospels and the Epistles. As it stands today, the church of S. Clemente gives us the best idea of any of the religious edifices of Rome of what a small Christian basilica was in ancient times. We still find the court, or narthex, in front of the main façade, and the priest faces the worshippers in the nave, choir and aisles (fig. 51). Behind the altar is the antique marble seat intended for the pastor of the little Christian flock, and the mosaics of the apse are also very old.

S. Maria in Cosmedin (fig. 52) is another Roman church that still preserves

Fig. 48. — Church of S. Maria Maggiore. Rome.

Fig. 49. — Church of S. Agnese. Rome.

Fig. 50. — S. Clemente. The present church. Rome.

much of its original appearance. Its modern decorations have been wisely removed in recent years. It is very possible that it was built upon the site of a Temple of Ceres which stood in the Forum Boarium. Pope Damasus dedicated this church in 380, and a century later Belisarius ceded it to a community of Greek monks. It was probably more or less rebuilt in the Seventh Century, but the flat roof, choir, pulpits and the ancient marble pavement are still preserved. So we see that the early Christian basilicas were usually supplemented with a court, or cloister, in front. Here the catechumens and penitents stood who were not permitted to enter the church proper. At the back of the court was a lobby called the narthex which led to the interior of the basilica. This was reserved for those who were allowed to view the ceremonies from a distance. It was still in use in the churches of the Middle Ages, although by that time it often served merely as a vestibule where meetings were held which were not purely of a religious character. Here officers were elected and discussions regarding church finances took place. Beyond the court and narthex was the basilica which extended lengthwise, a nave flanked by aisles. There were no chapels nor altars except those in the apses at the fur-

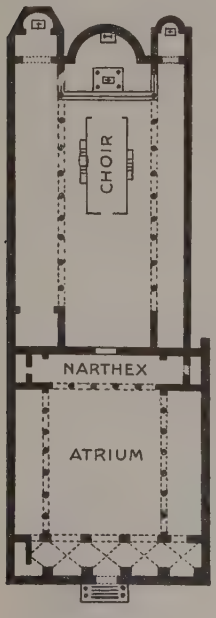

Fig. 51. — Plan of S. Clemente. Rome.

Fig. 52. — S. Maria in Cosmedin. Rome.

ther end of the building. The nave was higher than the aisles which permitted the church to be lighted by means of large windows in the walls above the roofs of the aisles. The walls were covered with mosaics and paintings representing scenes from the Old and New Testaments. St. Paulinus of Nola called them the "Bible of the illiterate," for it was from these colored pictures that the ignorant were able to learn much regarding the principles of the new faith. Between nave and aisles were the columns and arches which separated the various divisions of the church, and it is this feature that still gives the Roman basilicas a certain artistic grandeur which is unsurpassed. Their diversified colors are reflected on the floor of the nave and aisles which are paved with flags of hard polished stone. The roof was of wood and followed the lines of the façade; from the court could be seen the outline of the roof sloping on either side, while the façade, like the interior, was decorated with colored paintings and mosaics. The ceilings were flat. The apse projected beyond the rear wall through an opening at the far end of the nave which formed a triumphal arch. This was ornamented with mosaics or paintings, as was the apse itself, and here it is that we find the most important pictorial art of the Christian basilicas.

Near by were the baptisteries where, as the name indicates, the ordinance of baptism was administered by immersion, cleansing the neophite of the sins of the flesh. A central piscina was required which was sufficiently large to immerse the convert. A circular or octagonal plan was the most often employed.

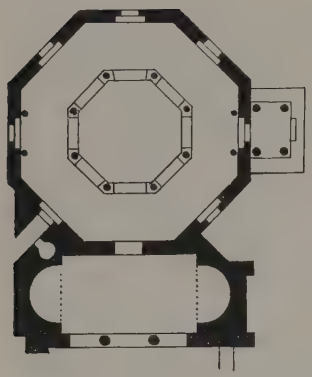

Fig. 53. — Plan of the Lateran baptistery. Rome.

As has been noted, the baptisteries were built more or less in imitation of the private baths which the patricians and emperors of pagan Rome were accustomed to install in their residences. The most ancient baptistery in Rome is that of the Lateran group near the palace occupied by the successors of St. Peter (figs. 53 and 54).

If the baptistery of the Lateran was ever a private bath, it was magnificently rebuilt in a manner in keeping with its importance, for the sacrament of baptism was at first administered only by the bishops. The Popes, as *Episcopi Romani,* were the only persons in Rome who could perform this rite, so the baptistery connected with their palace was of more than ordinary importance. In the inscriptions still to be seen in the mosaics are some verses which refer to the purification by baptism and the unity of the Church through the spirit of Jesus. The *Liber Pontificalis* speaks highly of this work as it appeared after the restorations of Pope Melchiades. The porphyry baptismal fonts were covered within and without with plates of silver; in the centre of the font was a column, also of porphyry, which supported a golden vessel. Here incense was burned at Easter. There were golden statues of the Saviour and St. John as well. Stripped of its precious furnishings, only the original building of the Lateran baptistery remains, and it is still an excellent example of Christian art in the time of Constantine.

Another important Christian monument preserved in Rome dates from the period immediately following the reign of Constantine and his recognition of the Church. This is a circular structure and, according to Rossi, must have been a baptistery, but it was at the same time the tomb of one the daughters of Constantine. This remarkable building is known as the Mausoleum of S. Constantia and is also outside the walls on the Via Nomentana near the entrance to the Catacombs of S. Agnese. Its graceful structure attracted the attention of the savants of the Renaissance; the hemispherical dome is supported by columns and round it runs a tunnel-vaulted ambulatory supported by the central columns and the

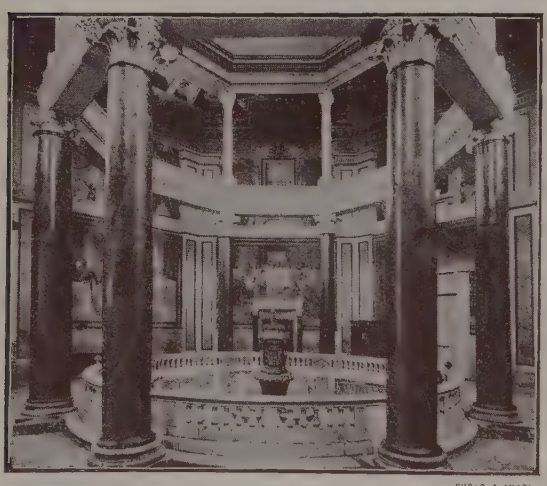

PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 54. — Interior of the Lateran baptistery. Rome.

outer wall (fig. 55). In the centre of the building underneath the dome was the magnificent sarcophagus of red porphyry containing the remains of the daughter of Constantine which has now been removed to the Vatican Museum.

Fig. 55. — Mausoleum of S. Constantia. Rome.

Both the dome and the annular vault were formerly covered with mosaics, but those of the dome were barbarously destroyed in the Seventeenth Century to make room for the abominable frescoes with which the building was redecorated by a cardinal whose misdirected devotion to the church is regretted by every lover of art. Fortunately his munificence did not extend to the annular vault of the ambulatory which still retains its covering of antique mosaics so interesting to the student. The mosaics of S. Constantia represent a vintage scene with little Cupids picking the grapes. They still possess a slightly pagan flavor, as though the court mosaic-workers who executed this work were not yet thoroughly imbued with the new spirit which had so recently emerged from the catacombs (fig. 56). The mosaics of the dome, however, appear to have represented Christian themes, judging from a drawing of them in the library of the Escorial. Between conventionalized trees composed of caryatids and acanthus leaves were Evangelical scenes of the miracles and parables. Their loss is the more to be regretted since they would constitute another link between the frescoes of the catacombs and the mosaics of the basilicas.

Fig. 56. — Mosaic of the vault of S. Constantia. Rome.

As we have already noted, not only did they decorate with mosaics the circular and polygonal structures which served as baptisteries or tombs of persons of importance, but also the Christian basilicas and churches. The first basilica which has retained any remains of its mosaics was the noteworthy structure erected by the Consul, Junius Bassus, in the Esquiline district to commemorate the victory of

Fig. 57. — Marquetry from the basilica of Junius Bassus. *(Capitol Museum.)* ROME.

his patron, the Emperor Constantine, in the battle of Pons Milvius in which his rival and brother-in-law, Maxentius, was defeated. The basilica of Junius Bassus was torn down during the Sixteenth Century and our knowledge of it is largely derived from the drawings made by the great papal architect, Giuliano di Sangallo. Nevertheless, there are a number of fragments of the incrustations which someone had the fortunate idea of preserving in the Capitol Museum. They are composed of small fragments of colored marble and other variegated stone and formed a sort of marquetry, a technique known to the Romans as *opus sectile*. Animals and human figures were outlined on the walls with small flags of rare stone which were larger than the little cubes of marble of which the mosaics were usually composed. The marquetry of the basilica of Junius Bassus was the last expression of pagan art in Rome. From that time on even the technique changed, for the mosaics of the Christian basilicas are not of marble, but of small particles of glass and melted enamel of every color imaginable and possessing a brilliancy that time has never been able to dim (fig. 57). Figure 58 reproduces the front of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus which was decorated with Christian themes even at this early time.

The mosaic compositions of the basilicas are the most artistic of any that have come down to us from the period following the official recognition of

Fig. 58. — Front of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. *(Vatican.)* ROME.

Fig. 59. — Mosaic of the apse of S. Pudenziana. Rome.

the Church. Here we find the work of Christian artists with sufficient resources at their disposal to be able to produce new themes of undeniable esthetic interest. It must be recognized that the mosaics of the basilicas are a continuation of the art of the catacombs. They possess the inspiration which gave birth to the art of the first Christian cemeteries, but we also find a new magnificence in these pictures which were intended to be viewed from a large nave by a multitude of worshipers infinitely larger than the little congregation which met in the dark and narrow cubicula of the catacombs.

The earliest of these mosaic compositions of the basilicas is the famous one in S. Pudenziana on the Esquiline. According to tradition, it was built on the site of the house of the Senator Pudens, who is supposed to have received St. Peter as his guest when the apostle first arrived in Rome. Today the level of the city is about ten feet higher than it was in ancient times, and S. Pudenziana is a low basilica with a single restored nave that would have little interest for us if it were not for the old mosaics which still decorate its apse. The composition possesses the serenity and balance so characteristic of classical art (fig. 59). A hemicycle of columns in the background of the picture frames a group of persons in friendly conversation, while in the centre is Christ seated upon a cathedra. He wears a beard and holds in his hand a book, and his attitude is one of majesty. It is a new type, one very different from that of the beardless Christ of the catacombs. Christian art has progressed perceptibly, but the apostles are still the philosophers of pagan art. They are engaged in placid colloquy as though discussing some philosophical proposition; the spiritual zeal born of the doctrine of sin and redemption which is reflected in later

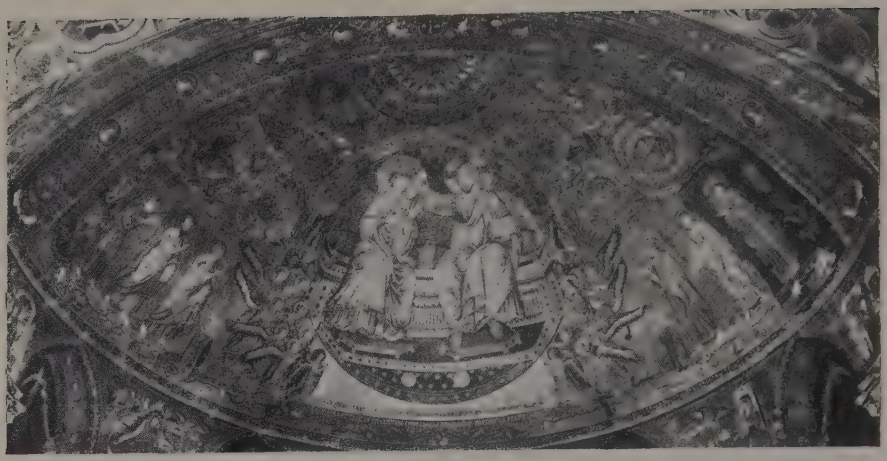

Fig. 60. — Mosaic of the apse of S. Maria Maggiore with restorations by Torriti. Rome.

Christian art is here entirely lacking. It is interesting to note the presence in this scene of the figures of historical personages such as those of Pudens and his daughters. The artist may have intended to represent the blessed state of the elect with Christ and his apostles in Heaven. This is a conception of this work which has gained credence in recent years. Behind the hemicycle of columns are the domes and towers of a city supposed to be Rome as it appeared at the time from the house of Pudens. But a more recent analysis of the buildings and the great jewelled cross dominating the background of the picture lead us to believe that Jerusalem in Palestine was intended, although only as the symbol of the New Jerusalem, the Heavenly City. This cross in the mosaics of S. Pudenziana seems to be a representation of the famous one set up on Mound Calvary by Constantine and Helena which the artist himself had probably seen.

The jewelled cross was to remain a characteristic feature of mosaic art, as was the majestic figure of a seated Christ, seen for the first time in S. Pudenziana. In the upper part of a mosaic in the Lateran basilica we also find the bearded Christ surrounded by nine angels and in an attitude of benediction, just as the legend assures us he appeared at the dedication of the church. Below the vault of the apse stand two groups of saints composed of Mary, Peter, Paul, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. In the last zone is the monumental gemmed cross set upon a hill from which a spring gushes forth, a symbol of the baptism. Two flocks of sheep come to drink from it and move toward two miniature cities, *Jerusalem ecclesia circumcisione* and *Bethleem ecclesia gentis*. In this mosaic in the Lateran we have an entirely new repertory much richer than that of the isolated scenes in the catacombs representing the miracles of the Gospels and the love-feasts of the early Christians. The whole conception is purely a Christian one; the souls of the redeemed, refreshed by the water which flows from the foot of the cross on Calvary, find their home in the two cities which symbolize Heaven. Sometimes the apses of the basilicas were decorated only with foliage of curling green acanthus leaves against the gold background.

Fig. 61. — The angels appearing to Abraham and Sarah. Adoration of the Magi. *Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore.* Rome.

The Coronation of the Virgin in S. Maria Maggiore is probably a reproduction of the original mosaic composition, although it was restored almost beyond recognition by Torriti in the Thirteenth Century (fig. 60). In Torriti's mosaic Christ is represented with a beard and the cruciform nimbus, but the beardless Saviour of the catacombs is still to be found in some of the mosaics on the sides of the church.

The latter decorate the rectangular spaces between the windows of the nave, and they may be the most ancient of the Christian mosaics that have come down to us, reflecting as they do the old religious controversies of the period and

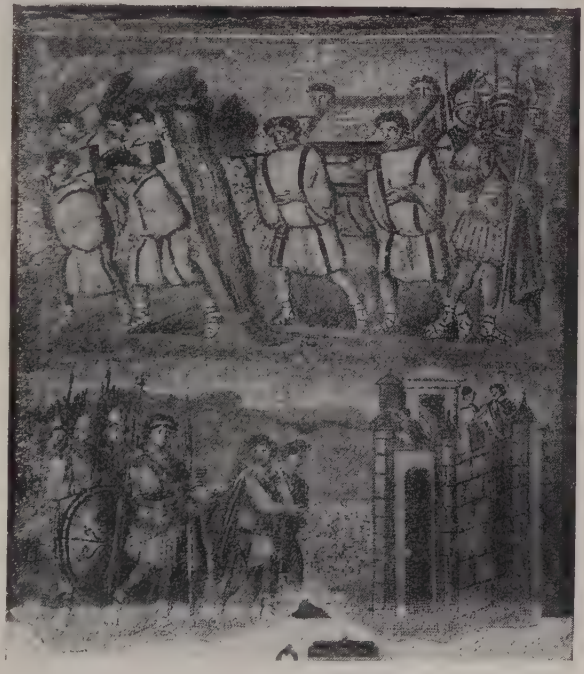

Fig. 62. — The passage through the Jordan. The spies at Jericho. *Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore.* Rome.

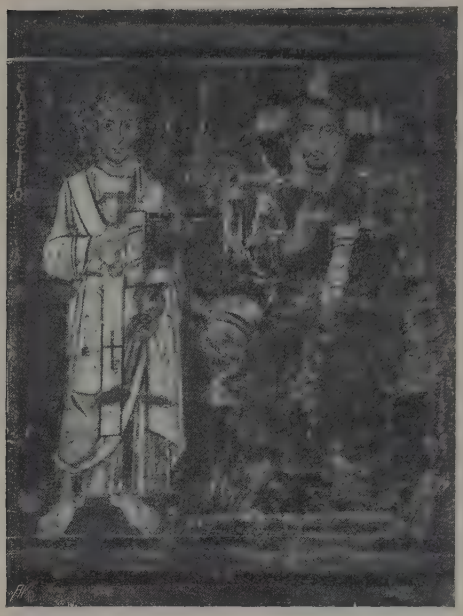

Fig. 63. — Christ and one of the redeemed. S. Maria Antiqua. *Roman Forum.*

old heresies long since disappeared. Below the appearance of the Lord and his angels to Abraham on the plains of Mamre, we see angels surrounding the Christ-child, the new apparition adored by the Magi. Figure 62 reproduces another mosaic which is interesting as an evidence of the unity of Christian art in all its manifestations. The scenes representing the passage through the Jordan and the spies at Jericho are very similar to those in the miniatures of a Fifth Century scroll of the Book of Joshua preserved in the Vatican Library.

The guise in which the Saviour should be represented became a question which gave rise to much heated discussion throughout the Fourth Century. Some authorities like Tertullian believed that Christ should he pictured in an unattractive manner, that he should even inspire terror, that we might not fall into temptation through his physical beauty. Others agreed with the gentle St. John Chrysostomus that Jesus should be presented with a grace and charm that would supplement his divine precepts in drawing souls to his service. The latter view finally triumphed, and the artist was permitted to produce the beautiful works of the Middle Ages. The Christ of S. Pudenziana was to become that of the Byzantine mosaics and the Gothic cathedrals, ever the same figure dressed in classical robes, a book in his hand and wearing the flowing beard that gives to his face the thoughtful expression of

Fig. 64.—The Crucifixion. S. Maria Antiqua. *Roman Forum.*

Fig. 65. — Superimposition of three different frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua. *Roman Forum.*

mature years combined with the tenderness of his gaze. We now believe that this type of Christ seated upon a throne with the Scriptures in his hand was brought to Rome from the Orient. It is in this manner that we find him represented in the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum by the Greek artists who painted these pictures (fig. 63).

The subject of the Crucifixion also began to be portrayed not long after Christian art emerged from the catacombs into the light of day. We find it in S. Maria Antiqua accompanied by the subordinate figures which were to become traditional: Mary and John, and Longinus and the Stephaton with his pole and sponge, all symmetrically arranged (fig. 64).

These paintings of S. Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum are most valuable, not only for their iconography, but also for the information they bring to us regarding the vacillation and opposing influences which affected Christian art during the period of its formation. One of these walls was painted over three times in a few years, and where patches of the frescoes have scaled off, portions of the three superimposed frescoes can be seen. A careful analysis of the reproduction (fig. 65) will give us some idea of the nature of these three compositions

Fig. 66. — Fresco in the Catacombs of Commodilla. Rome.

and the differences in their styles. The earliest was evidently an Annunciation of the Virgin, still more or less in the style of the catacombs. We can trace only the angel dressed in white and the head of the Virgin in the upper portion. The second layer represents a crowned Virgin with the Child in her arms and seated upon an ivory throne. The style of the picture is Byzantine and dates from the period when Christian themes were introduced into Rome from Constantinople. The third picture consist of a row of saints, also Byzantine, each of whom is crowned with a halo. The head of one covers a portion of the seated Virgin and part of another halo to the right.

The Virgin seated upon a jewelled throne is another type which became traditional in Christian iconography and was subject to but little variation, as in the case of the seated figure of Christ. The Virgin Mother never wears the imperial diadem in Byzantine art, but in the Occident we find her crowned. Figure 66 reproduces what is perhaps the most interesting of these figures of the Virgin, for it is one of the last evidences of worship in the catacombs and was painted in the Tenth Century. Even at this late date the wall of one of the cubicula was decorated with this figure of Mary between two saints, one of whom presents to her the devout person at whose expense the picture was painted.

Having now made a survey of the early Christian architecture of Rome, its basilicas, baptisteries and their decorations of frescoes and mosaics, we shall consider the sculpture of the period. We have no large Christian statues or images dating from the time immediately following the official recognition of the Church. True, we find in the catacombs the figure of the Good Shepherd carved in the full round, and it is probable that other similar statues also existed in the early Christian basilicas. But almost all of these have disappeared; one statue of life size has been preserved in the Christian museum of the Lat-

Figs. 67 and 68. — Ivory reliquary casket. BRESCIA.

eran. It appears to be a figure of St. Hippolytus seated upon the ancient consular throne and dressed in a classical toga like the figures of the mosaics in S. Pudenziana. It was evidently found in a very mutilated condition, for the head and the upper portion of the torso are Renaissance restorations. The famous statue of St. Peter in the Vatican which pilgrims still kiss in pious veneration seems to be quite modern. Like the figure of S. Hippolytus, it is seated upon a curule chair, and the garment is that of the classical period. Nevertheless, the folds of the drapery and the aspect of the figure betray the fact that it dates only from the Fourteenth Century. Possibly it is the work of Arnaldo, a Florentine sculptor who worked in Rome at this time.

Other interesting specimens of early Christian sculpture are the wooden and ivory reliefs preserved in the museums and the treasuries of the older churches. We find on a rectangular casket in Brescia the same themes which we have already noted in the catacombs. On one of its sides are representations of the healing of the man blind from birth and the raising of Lazarus which are very similar to those on the sarcophagi and in the frescoes of the catacombs (fig. 67). On another side is an interesting representation of the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, miraculously struck dead for concealing their

Fig. 69. — Christian pyx. *(Kaiser Friedrich Museum.)* BERLIN.

Fig. 70.—The Barberini Ivory. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

wealth from the Christian community as related in the Acts of the Apostles (fig. 68).

Other ivory caskets are cylindrical in form and may have contained the Eucharist rather than relics. One of these is very ancient and is ornamented with reliefs representing the story of St. Menas. It was discovered in Egypt a few years ago and is now in the British Museum. Another on which is carved the Nativity and the sacrifice of Isaac is preserved in the Museum of Berlin (fig. 69).

These reliquaries and other caskets bear evidence to the fact that Christian sculpture possessed an inventive genius and a beauty that seemed to be lost during the last centuries of the Roman Empire. Christianity rejuvenated the spirit of men, and the new themes, created with such difficulty during several centuries of experiment, became a source of inspiration to the sculptor, just as the old pagan subjects did for the decorative artists. Sometimes these Christian subjects are wrongly assembled as on the famous doors of S. Sabina. Their thick leaves are of carved wood dating from the Fifth Century and still hang in the doorway for which they were constructed. The doors of S. Sabina are still almost complete and are composed of panels carved with Biblical scenes separated by grapevine decorations in low relief. The latter have the exotic character of late Roman art. They resemble Oriental decorations and are delicately carved upon the moulding. (Plate III.) The admirable wood-carvers who executed these grapevine decorations in S. Sabina were not so fortunate when they attempted the more difficult iconography of the new religion. The scenes from the Old and New Testaments are badly mixed in these panels. The raising of Lazarus, where the saint emerges from the little temple which forms the tomb, is the same as on the casket at Brescia and in the frescoes of the catacombs. Here, too, is a scene which may be that of the Crucifixion. There has been much discussion whether the three figures with outstretched arms represent Christ and the two thieves, or are merely *orantes*.

Themes of a purely religious character were not the only ones which preoc-

THE GATES OF S. SABINA. ROME.

A. The Crucifixion. — B. The Holy Women at the Sepulchre. — C. The raising of Lazarus. The multiplication of loaves and fishes. The Cana wedding. — D. The burning bush. The Easter Passover. The rock in Horeb.

cupied the minds of the Christian sculptors of Rome and other parts of Western Europe. We also find others which, although they were connected with the history of the Church, were of a social or civil character. Such, for example, is that of the book-cover known as the Barberini Ivory which represents Constantine as the Defender of the Faith. Above is the figure of Christ, the face still beardless, surrounded by a nimbus which is supported by two angels. Below, the Emperor on horseback rests the point of his lance upon the ground as a sign of his dominion. A classical Victory bearing a palm seems about to crown him, and between the feet of his horse crouches Earth with her lap filled with fruit (fig. 70). In the lowest zone figures representing the various parts of the Empire bring rare gifts from distant provinces.

This marvelous ivory carving, almost miraculously preserved, probably belonged to the imperial treasury during the first part of the Fourth Century. We know that the piece was in Germany in the Seventh Century, and it was acquired for the Barberini collection at a very early period. Here it remained until a few years ago when it became the property of the Louvre.

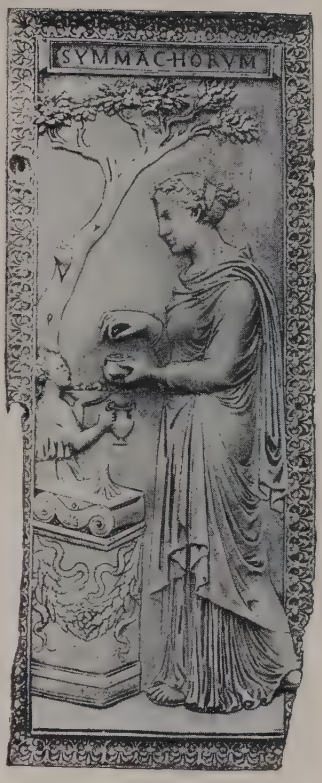

Fig. 71. — Ivory plaque from a nuptial diptych, *(South Kensington Museum.)* LONDON.

To the same period belong the ivory leaves of a nuptial diptych on which are carved the figures of a husband and wife, each standing before an altar in an attitude of devout composure. One of these leaves is now in the Cluny Museum at Paris, while the other, representing the wife, is preserved in the South Kensington Museum in London (fig. 71). Besides these more important manifestations of Christian art at Rome during the years immediately following the reign of Constantine, such as the new architectural forms seen in the basilicas and baptisteries, the pictorial representation of the mosaics in the apses

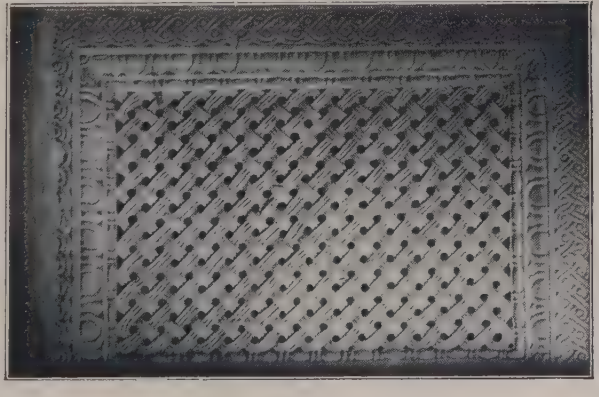

Fig. 72. — Screen of the choir of S. Clemente. ROME.

Fig. 73. — Candelabrum. S. Paul. Rome.

and the reliefs and ivory carvings, we will make a brief examination of some of the ritual objects and other articles connected with church worship, for the artists of the period were also called upon to decorate these furnishings. The first and most important object is the altar which stood in the apse and was, perhaps, the most prominent object in the church. It was usually set over the tomb of the martyr to whom the basilica was dedicated, thus the saint in the crypt participated in the sacrifice which was performed upon the altar in the apse. Indeed, the avowed purpose of the church itself was to guard these remains. The basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican was built in this rather remote situation because they desired to place the altar over the tomb of the Apostle which was close to Nero's circus where he suffered martyrdom. During the Middle Ages pilgrims could still view the ruined tiers of seats of the great stadium which lay to one side of the handsome basilica with its nave and four aisles. Emerging from the great heaps of debris was the colossal obelisk from Egypt which embellished the spina of the circus. The basilica of St. Paul was built outside the walls because tradition placed his tomb upon this spot. The altar of S. Lorenzo is over the body of this martyr, and S. Agnese is above the catacombs where the patron saint of the maidens of Rome was interred. In churches like the Lateran basilica, which did not mark the site of an important sepulchre, the ashes or other relics of some martyr were brought and deposited beneath the altar in order to sanctify the new temple. Procopius tells us that when Justinian dedicated the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, the Patriarch Menas figured in the Imperial cortege, riding in the car resplendent with gold and jewels which bore the sacred relics. These were to be placed beneath the altar.

The altar itself was a simple table covered by a *ciborium,* or canopy, supported by four columns. The records tell us of a *ciborium,* or *fastigium,* of precious metals which Constantine presented to the Lateran basilica. In addition to this and others to which we have literary references, two ancient *ciboria* still exist in Rome, one in S. Clemente and the other in S. Giorgio in Velabro, both of the same type. Four columns support a marble architrave above which is a canopy sloping on four sides surmounted by a cross. Behind the

Fig. 74. — Enameled cross of Pope Symmachus and its case. *(Treasury Sancta Sanctorum.)* Rome

simple table which constituted the altar and was situated in the centre of the apse, was the episcopal throne, or cathedra, and around the rear wall of the apse was the semicircular marble bench for the priests.

In the centre of the nave we still find in a few churches a number of rectangular spaces enclosed by screens for the minor asistants, such as the singers, musicians and exorcists (fig. 72).

In many of the Roman basilicas the two pulpits on either side of the altar are retained. One of these was for the reading of the Epistle and the other for the Gospels. They are much smaller than the pulpits of the present day and are approached by small marble stairways. Here the reader was raised sufficienly above the congregation without being entirely separated from them. The latter were divided according to sex, as we have already seen to have been the case in the catacombs. On the side of the Epistle were the maids and matrons, while on the side of the Gospels were the elders, youths and catechumens. United in spirit and forming a single body, the Church followed the rules laid down by St. Paul.

Another class of ritual objects found in the basilicas consisted of the great candelabra which held the Paschal candles. In the *Liber Pontificalis* we read of four magnificent marble candelabra which were presented by Constantine to the church of St. Peter on the Vatican. These were probably in the style of those which we still find in the larger Roman basilicas. In St. Paul, for example, they

have preserved the monumental candelabrum of the original basilica with its ornamental reliefs (fig. 73). Although it dates only from the Ninth Century, nevertheless its great size gives us some idea of what the large candelabra of the early Church must have been.

Not only are many of the larger ritual objects, or furniture, of the early basilicas still to be seen in Rome, such as the pulpits, altars and candelabra, but also numerous minor articles connected with the Christian worship of this period. These have been collected by different Popes and placed in the inviolable treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum near the Lateran Palace. This deposit was sealed during the Middle Ages and has only recently been opened. Especial mention should be made of the enameled cross of Symmachus which was held in the highest veneration. History tells us that each year the Popes marched with bare feet carrying it in solemn state through the streets of Rome. The enamels represent scenes from the Gospels such as the Annunciation, the Visitation, the flight into Egypt, the Nativity and the adoration of the shepherds as well as the Presentation and Baptism of Jesus (fig. 74).

Summary. — After the recognition of the Church by the State, Christian worship was carried on in buildings constructed on a plan very similar to that of the pagan basilicas. Some of these new basilicas were erected by Constantine, particularly those which were set above the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul as well as the basilica of S. Agnese and perhaps that of S. Lorenzo. The architectural type of the Christian basilica was preserved in later centuries with little modification. It consisted of a nave, often accompanied by two or four aisles which were separated by columns. The latter supported either arches or a horizontal entablature. The ceiling was flat and divided into panels, while the roof, sloping to either side, was outlined on the façade. There was a single apse containing the altar which was set over the crypt constructed to hold the body of the saint. In the centre of the nave was a screened enclosure for the choir. The mosaics of the apse and sides of the church represented scenes taken from the Gospels or large symbolic themes. We have practically no sculptures in the full round dating from the period immediately following the recognition of the Church, but a large number of ritual objects have come down to us which are of ivory and metal and are ornamented with relief sculptures. Some of these appear to be the work of Oriental artists who had come to Rome.

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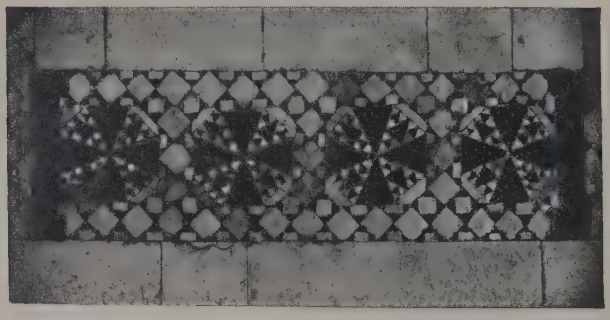

Fig. 75. — Mosaic pavement of a Christian basilica. Rome.

Fig. 76. — Octagonal construction in the monastery of S. Simeon. *Kalat Seman*. Syria.

CHAPTER III

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART IN EGYPT AND THE ORIENT.
THE BASILICAS OF SYRIA AND ASIA MINOR. — SYRIAN VAULT AND DOME CONSTRUCTION. — COPTIC ART. SCULPTURES AND FABRICS.

A discussion has arisen in the last twenty years which seems likely to greatly modify the generally accepted ideas regarding early Christian art. A number of German critics and the younger archaeologists of the Russian school began to question the belief that Christian art had its beginning in the Roman catacombs and was exclusively of Latin origin. It had always been held that when Constantine founded his new capital at Constantinople, Byzantine art continued to be motivated by the impulse which it had received from Rome and to develop the types which had been created in the Occident. Just as Rome had governed the ancient world with her laws, so she was supposed to have imposed upon the Eastern provinces her new art, the repertory of which already existed in a rudimentary state in the frescos of the catacombs and the mosaics of the early basilicas.

We have already called attention to the mosaics of S. Pudenziana at Rome, the first Christian composition to decorate the apse of a basilica, and shown that an analysis of the porticos and domes in the background of the picture suggested that Jerusalem was intended. This was further confirmed by the presence of a

Figs. 77 and 78. — St. Luke and the Virgin. Christ before Pilate.
Miniatures of the Gospels of Rossano. CALABRIA.

great jewelled cross dominating the panorama and perhaps resembling the one which Constantine set up on Mount Calvary. In spite of the fact that constant relations were still maintained between Rome and the Orient and that pilgrims had already begun to visit the Holy Land, we must still admit that it is rather strange that a Roman artist should be so well acquainted with the sky-line and details of the distant Judean city.

We also detected a certain Oriental character in the ornamentation of the doors of S. Sabina; the grapevine reliefs carved on the mouldings resemble those of the Orient, rather than the traditional themes of Roman decorative art.

Oriental motives occur so frequently in the Christian monuments of the first centuries that critics have formulated a theory very different from the idea already current as to the part played by Rome in the formation of the new art. Just as Christianity had come to Rome from the Orient already formed, so were its artistic themes brought from Asia and Egypt by the artists who decorated the catacombs. Furthermore, it was in the Orient that the Christian art of the imperial court at Constantinople later originated, and Rome was at best but a negligible factor in its formation. We shall cite some examples of this in order to show how carefully these modern critics have analyzed, one by one, the most important Christian monuments before they ascribed to them an Oriental origin. Keeping to the field of pictorial art, we might next mention two of the most famous early Christian codices containing miniatures.

One of these is the handsome manuscript of the Book of Genesis now in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is profusely illustrated and probably dates from the Fourth Century. Modern critics have produced an entire literature of commentaries on this codex. Wickoff, who was one of the most emminent authorities on the subject, has devoted a voluminous work to this manuscript in which he seeks to demonstrate that the style of its miniatures, the manner of presenting picturesque features, the atmosphere and the perspective were still the same

A. Rebecca going to the fountain. The nymph of the fountain. Rebecca and Eliezer.
(Miniature of the Genesis of Vienna.)

B. Christ with a cruciform nimbus.
(Sarcophagus in the Museum of Berlin.)

C. The baptism in the Jordan.
(Ivory sculpture in British Museum.)

as in ancient Roman art. He calls attention to *the continuous style* which is the same as that of the reliefs of Trajan's Column and the miniatures of the Vatican Virgil and the Milan Iliad. To refute Wickhoff's arguments, the Russian critics point to the flora and fauna represented in the miniatures as being typical of the Orient. In the meeting of Eliezer with Rebecca at the well, the camels of the former are of a desert variety unknown to Roman art. (Plate IV, A.)

Fig. 79. — Miniature of Syriac Codex No. 356. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

In the cathedral at Rossano in Calabria is another very famous Christian manuscript containing the Gospels illustrated with miniatures. This, too, is thought to be of Oriental origin because we find in it pictures of goats with long horns and tails of a species only found in Syria. This belief has been further confirmed by another recent discovery. A few years ago the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris acquired a number of folios illustrated with miniatures which had been part of an evangelistary identical in style with the Rossano Codex. Investigation revealed the fact that these leaves had come from Sinope, a port on the Black Sea and the site of a very early Christian church. Another reason for the importance attached to the Gospels of Rossano is that it contains a representation of Christ with a mantle which is quite unlike anything found in the catacombs. Also on the frontispiece preceding each Gospel is the seated figure of an Evangelist writing (figs. 77 and 78), similar to those of Byzantine art in the East and later manuscripts in the West. The evidence, therefore, goes to prove that Syria was the cradle of some most important themes of Christian art.

All three manuscripts, the Genesis of Vienna, the Gospels of Rossano and those of Sinope, are written in Greek which was the official language of the early Christian Church at Rome as well as in the Orient; so the language of the text hardly indicates their origin. But there are also a number of codices written in Syriac, the vernacular of that country, and some of these contain miniatures worthy of mention. One of the most interesting is a manuscript of Gospel stories compiled and illuminated by a monk named Rabbula in 586. On the frontispiece

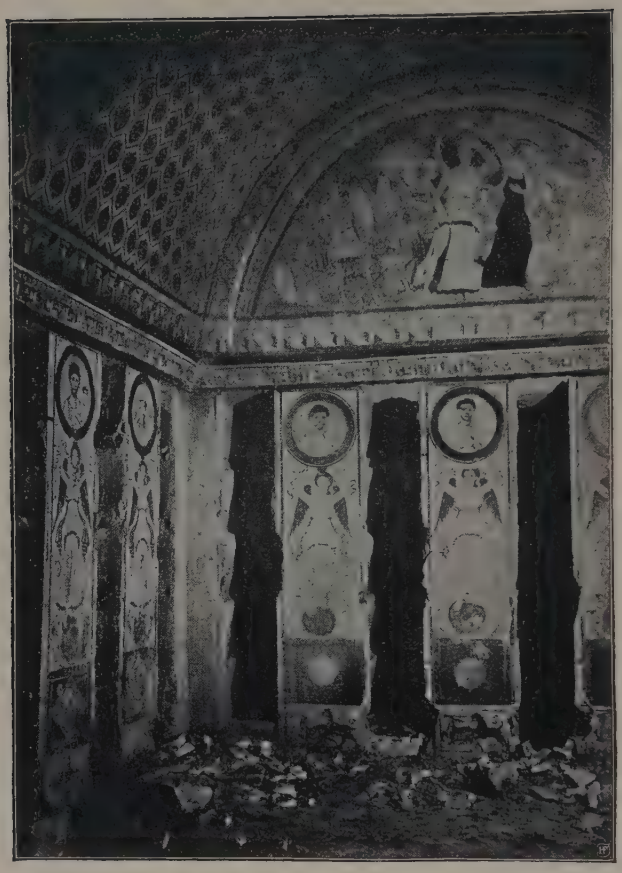

Fig. 80. — Syrian catacombs at Palmyra.

are two typical portraits of Oriental monarchs framed by a conventional architectural setting. (Plate V.) Above, on the peak of the roof, is a cross and a fountain from which a bird is drinking, an ornamental theme often found in the Byzantine miniatures. There are also the two peacocks which are so often employed to fill the spaces in the manuscripts of Byzantium. Among the text illustrations are the Crucifixion and the Ascension of Christ in large miniatures which we now know to have been executed prior to the time when these themes first appeared in Constantinople and Rome. The ornamentation of the Syriac manuscripts is, therefore, an anticipation of the art of Byzantium. On the frontispiece of one of these codices now in Paris, we see the so-called Maltese cross, the geometrical patterns and the conventionalized leaves so common in Byzantine art (fig. 79).

The illustrations of the manuscripts would be one of the principal means by which the themes of the new art were carried to the Occident, but the spread of monumental painting and painting on wood has also been proved. For example, the winged Christian angels were androgynous and do not appear to have been taken directly from the type of the pagan Victory. It was believed until recently that the first representations of Christian angels were the caryatids pictured in the mosaics of S. Prassede at Rome; but similar angel figures supporting a clypeus have been discovered in the not Christian catacombs at Palmyra in the desert, and these appear to be much older than those of the Roman basilica (fig. 80).

The Byzantine saints, with their thin ascetic faces and extatic eyes and accompanied by their attributes as Doctors and Fathers of the Church, are painted in long rows on the walls of the churches, and these also have their prototypes

Miniature from the Syrian Gospel-book of Rabbula. *(Biblioteca Laurenziana.)* FLORENCE.

Fig. 81. — Icon from the monastery of Sinai. *(Academy of Kief.)*

in the more distant Orient. This is confirmed by some very ancient icons representing saints, which were acquired from the Monastery of Sinai and are now in the Academy at Kief (fig. 81). Their immobile faces and general appearance lead us to believe that they are the link between the Hellenistic portraits of Egypt and the typical Byzantine saints of a later period (figs. 82 and 83).

Leaving the field of painting, we find the same to be true of early Christian sculpture. Strzygowski, an Austrian critic at the University of Vienna, has been able to show that the figure of Christ with a halo containing a cross, such as we find all through the Middle Ages, appears for the first time on a series of sarcophagi that are decorated with motives which are still pagan. They are richly ornamented with large friezes of spiny acanthus-leaves. Upon the sides of these sarcophagi are small arcades, or niches, containing figures of philosophers and Muses alternating with those of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, and in the centre of some of them is the figure of Jesus, still without a beard but with a nimbus containing a cross of the sort which we have already mentioned. (Plate IV, B.) One of these sarcophagi

Fig. 82. — Byzantine icon. *(Christian Museum. Vatican.)*

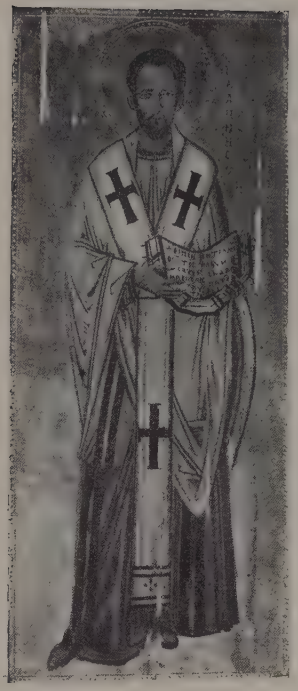

Fig. 83. — Byzantine icon. *(Christian Museum. Vatican.)*

is now in the Museum of Berlin, two are in Florence, and the Villa Mattei and the Vatican at Rome also possess specimens, but they all are of the same workmanship. Sarcophagi of the same type are found at Athens and in the Orient. The most beautiful of these is from Sidamara and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (fig. 84). This at once brings up the question where these handsome sarcophagi were produced; whether they were carved in Rome and sent to the Orient, or whether they were of Oriental origin and were the means of introducing into Rome the feature of a cross contained in the crown or nimbus of Christ. It has been definitely settled that it was the Orient, for the marble from which they are carved is not Italian; they were sculptured from great blocks of Greek marble of the sort used in Syria. A petrological analysis leaves no doubt on that point.

Some other early Christian reliefs are those on the famous flasks preserved in the cathedral at Monza near Pavia. These were brought from Rome to the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, in the time of Pope Saint Gregory, by the priest *Joannes, indignus et peccator,* as he calls himself. Ever since that time they have inspired the deepest veneration, and they are supposed to contain certain miraculous oils. The little gold receptacles

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Fig. 84. — Sarcophagus of Sidamara. *(Imperial Museum at Constantinople.)*

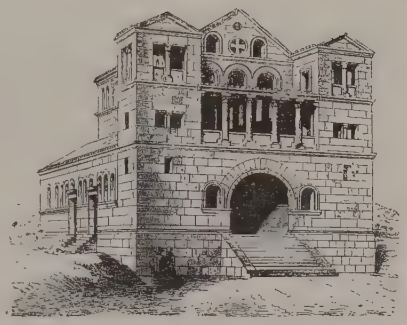

Fig. 85. — Basilica of Tourmanin. *Central Syria.*

are covered with reliefs representing scenes from the Gospels. On one of them we see the angel appearing to the women and telling them of the resurrection of the Lord. The form of the sepulchre reveals the fact that they were executed by an artist who was familiar with the site of the Holy Sepulchre in the great church at Jerusalem. *Exterius summum culmen auro ornatum, auream crucem non parvam sustentat.* It is thus that the tomb is represented on the flasks of Monza; there is a chapel with a sloping roof surmounted by a large cross. We cannot but admit that such precise knowledge of a spot in Palestine can hardly be expected of a Roman artist of the Sixth Century.

The same is true of certain ivory reliefs representing the baptism in the Jordan. Here we see Jesus, John the Baptist and a third figure in the water which is undoubtedly the genius of the sacred river. (Plate IV, C.) The last detail takes us to the Orient, for here existed a legend that the genius of the waters of the Jordan appeared during the baptism and confessed Jesus as the Messiah. This was a local tradition with which the Romans were unfamiliar, so we may well believe that these ivories were also brought from Syria or Palestine.

The early ecclesiastical writers tell us of the leading part taken by the churches of Asia. Their theological activity led them to assemble in great ecumenical councils, and in these lands which had been so permeated by Greek taste

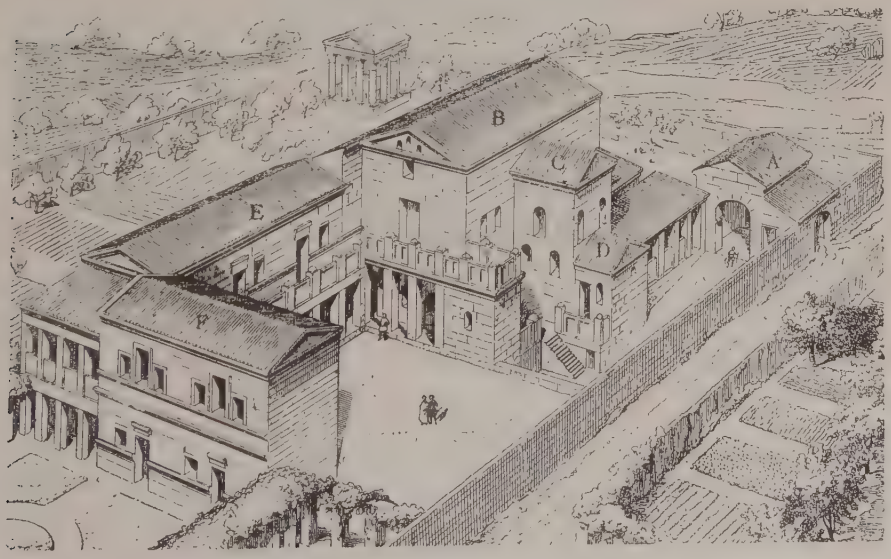

Fig. 86. — El Rabbah. *Central Syria.*

Fig. 87. — Nymphaeum at Nimes. *Provence.*

under Alexander and his successors, art was a natural and indispensable element accompanying every manifestation of the human spirit. About this time Constantine had serious difficulty finding sculptors at Rome and was finally obliged to make use ot the reliefs from Trajan's Arch in order to embellish his own. In Nicaea, however, where the great Emperor assembled his famous synod, the church in which the council was held was ornamented with the carved figures of the three hundred and eighteen bishops who met there. All over Syria artists found their services constantly required. The reigns of the Antiochi and Seleucidae had again Hellenized the old Greek population and accustomed the people to live in an atmosphere of elegance and wealth. Antioch the Beautiful was then the third city in the world, yielding place only to Rome and Alexandria in its monumental display and broad extent. St. John Chrysostomus, who was both a Christian and a man of elegance, gives us an idea of the Church at Antioch in the Fifth Century. In language truly poetical he tells us of the devotion of the faithful; a mystical feeling of ethic philanthropy led them to build great hospices to shelter the widows and orphans. The principal church of Asia was united in the Lord by faith, but it enjoyed none the less the imposing religious ceremonies and the beauty of its church buildings and its religious art. Thus the early Christians of Asia must, as a matter of course, have incessantly produced new and original artistic types. They turned to Christianity with a joy and youthful enthusiasm of which the Romans were incapable, wearied as they were by the decline of their decadent Empire

THE GREAT CHALICE OF ANTIOCH.

This beautiful communion cup is supposed to have belonged to the Christian church founded by Constantine at Antioch in 341. *(Kouchakji Collection.)* NEW YORK.

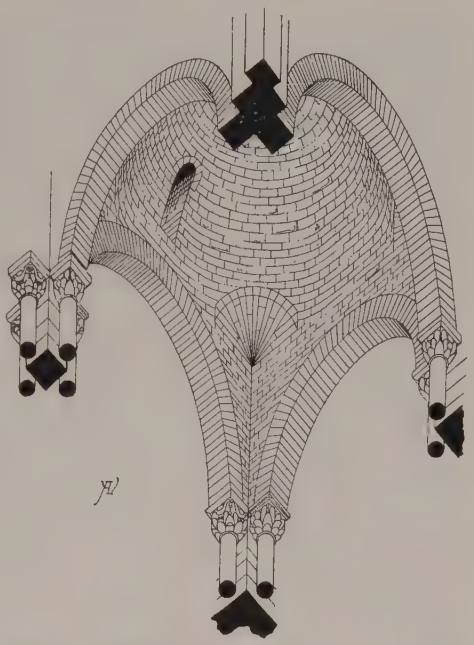

Fig. 88.— Squinches, or conical arches, connecting the walls of a square area with a dome.

Little remains in Antioch today to bear witness to the greatness of its Church, but the large region about the city contains many half-destroyed monuments, and further inland are entire cities and country churches and monasteries without end. The first study of these ruins was the book on Central Syria published by Count Melchior de Vogüé. Here were the first descriptions of Bosra, the basilica of Tourmanin (fig. 85), the praetorium of Musmiyeh and numerous other structures not far from Antioch in the district lying between the coast and the desert, where the ancient monuments had not been destroyed by the Turks in order to construct buildings of their own. This region had been colonized by the successors of Alexander and flourished throughout the Roman period. We shall see the efforts made by the legions to defend the desert frontier by a chain of fortresses. From the Seventh Century on this portion of Syria seems to have remained uninhabited. The Christian population took refuge in the great cities of the coast at the first invasions of the Persians and Saracens. The modern traveller finds on the bare rocky desert whole cities almost intact. Sometimes, as Vogüé puts it, he finds himself in a Christian Pompeii. The life and customs of these early Christians are revealed in the ruins which have never been put to other uses since they were abandoned by their owners. Many of the empty houses are standing, and the great ruined cupolas of their churches still defy the elements.

Some of their hospices are still sufficiently well preserved to shelter a desert caravan, while others are in ruins; but it is easy to trace their plans. This is the

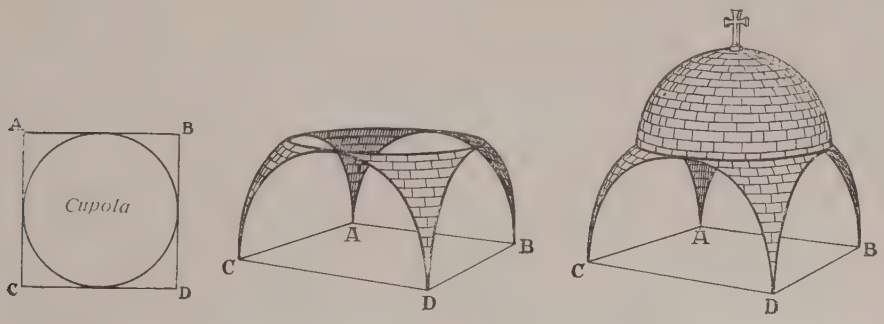

Fig. 89.—Pendentives connecting the angles of a square area with a dome.

Fig. 90. — Church of Kalb Louzeh. *Syria*.

case with the structure which the Arabs call El Rabbah (fig. 86). There was a portico which served as a gateway (A), a large reception hall (B), a dining-hall adjoining (E) and various annexes (C, D, F), while a little distance away is a small temple. The material of which these buildings are constructed has aided greatly in their preservation. Syria abounds in limestone deposits from which large blocks of building stone were easily quarried. Timber has always been most scarce; consequently almost every kind of structure was vaulted, thus stimulating the invention of new roofing systems from time to time.

The great innovation began by dividing the barrel-vaults into segments by means of parallel arches. To enclose the spaces left between these arches, or ribs, large slabs of stone were set upon them running lengthwise. In this manner the weight of the roof was distributed over the arches, and the portions of the wall upon which the latter rested were sufficiently strengthened to resist the lateral thrust. This system, so important to the development of structural art, seems already to have been known to the Roman architects who applied it to some of their latest monuments, as in the case of the galleries of the amphiteatre at Arles and the Nymphaeum at Nimes (fig. 87). But while this method of construction was used but rarely in the Occident, we frequently find it in Syria, so although it may be a Roman invention, it was not employed regularly and methodically until the Christians of the Orient adopted it.

In many of these Syrian structures the dome is supported by octagonal walls (fig. 76), but when the area to be roofed is square, its angles are connected with the hemispherical dome by means of intermediate curved surfaces consist-

Fig. 91. — The Porta Aurea. Diocletian's Palace at Spalato.

ing of either squinches or pendentives. The squinch seems to have been first employed in Persia by the Sassanian architects under the Parthian dynasty who exercised so marked an influence in the Orient. These conical arches converge in the corners of the building (fig. 88). We also find in Syria another solution of the problem. The square area is enclosed by four arches upon which a dome rests whose diameter is that of the square. The curvilinear triangles between the arches are called pendentives (fig. 89). The latter method became typical in Byzantine architecture. Although it, too, may have already been employed by the Romans, they only used it in structures so small that it could hardly be considered a solution of the problem involved, as it was in the monuments of Syria and later in Constantinople.

Besides the ordinary churches, we also find in Syria the ruins of great monasteries. As they were built of stone, many of them are in a fair state of preservation (fig. 90). The most important of these is the monastery of St. Simeon Stylites, which is still an imposing mass of ruins out on the desert (figs. 94 and 95, and Plate VII). The Arabs call it Kalat Seman, or the Castle of Simeon, for the memory of the famous anchorite still persists among the Bedouin tribes of Syria. After the death of this holy man who spent so many years in prayer on the summit of a pillar, his disciples constructed a handsome monastery with four spacious churches facing the court which contained the precious column. Early in the Sixth Century a Byzantine traveller visited the convent which was already

completed, and we can still identify the various parts of the ruins from his description. Apart from its enormous size and the fact that we know the precise date of its construction, the building is of especial interest because of the use of

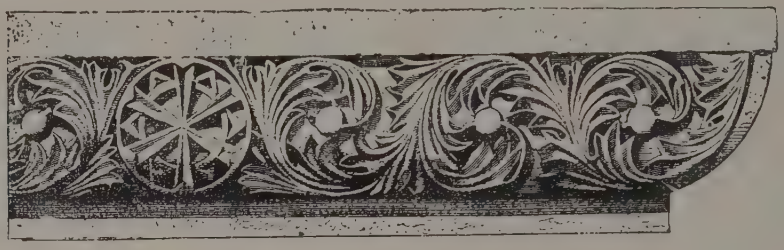

Fig. 92. — Cornice of El Barah. *Central Syria.*

architectural features as decorative elements. We shall meet with blind arches, engaged columns and brackets again when we take up Byzantine architecture.

The friezes and ornamental mouldings of Kalat Seman have often been compared with the decorations of Diocletian's palace at Spalato (fig. 91). This monumental structure was erected on the coast of Dalmatia by the man whom we are justified in calling the last Roman Caesar. Its plan is very similar to that of Kalat Seman, which would lead us to believe that the Emperor's architects may have been Orientals. We find in the palace at Spalato the same system of decoration by means of architectural features. Here, too, are superimposed engaged columns, blind arches and brackets, forming friezes, just as in the Christian structures of Syria. The same motives appear in the baths which this Emperor constructed at Rome. All this compels us to recognize the fact that thirty years before Constantinople was founded, when Diocletian built his palace in Dalmatia and the baths at Rome, imperial art was already following the same tendencies that later on strongly influenced Asiatic architects. Perhaps the architects of Diocletian were already orientals. As for sculptural decoration, there can no longer be any doubt; in the Spalato palace foliage is interpreted by the dry

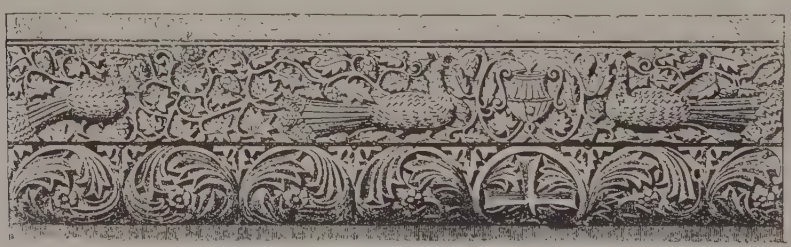

Fig. 93. — Moulding at Dana. *Central Syria.*

and spiny forms of the Orient, and its character is much more geometrical than in the ancient Roman reliefs.

In the Syrian styles as in the palace of Diocletian, we now observe a new taste in the decorations. Beauty is no longer sought by making the leaves soft and graceful, but rather in the ingenuity and elegance with which they cross

Fig. 94. — General view of Kalat Seman. *Central Syria*.

one another and interlace. The forms are outlined by the deep hollows which are sharply chiseled out between them. From the highest plane of the carved surface nothing stands out sufficiently to produce a shadow, but the leaves and shoots, as well as the small animals and Cupids, are clearly detached from the dark hollows behind them (figs. 92 and 93).

The Christian art of Syria covered an extensive area. Various expeditions sent out by Princeton University and Miss Bell have discovered many monuments of the same sort further to the north and east. They are mostly the remains of churches constructed of stone; their vaults are half-fallen; and they are decorated in the style observed by Vogüé. Some of them contain dated inscriptions, but many are forgotten monuments of the desert, old enough, if we are to believe the Russian and Austrian critics, to be the prototypes of all the mediaeval churches in Christendom.

Further to the south, the monasteries of Palestine have continued to be occupied, possibly owing to the desire of the Christian religious communities to remain near the Holy Places in spite of Saracen and Turkish domination. These have naturally undergone much restoration. Although they have preserved more or less of the early structures and many of the artistic treasures of the first centuries of Christianity, their general appearance has greatly changed. This is true of the two great monasteries of Palestine, Mar Saba and St. Elias. Here we find work dating from the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem superimposed upon the earlier walls of the ancient Christian buildings (figs. 96 and 97). The monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai still preserves a number of Fourth and Fifth Century manuscripts in its library, and it was here that the icons at Kief and other rare jewels now in Europe were obtained (fig. 81).

Melchior Vogüé's book was followed twenty years later by Brünnow's colossal

Fig. 95. — Façade of the church of Kalat Seman. *Central Syria.*

work entitled *Die Provinz Arabia,* the general term by which the Romans designated the various regions of Syria on the eastern border of the Empire. Brünnow's travels and his book were devoted not only to the study of the Christian monuments, but also the permanent camps of the legionaries, their military roads and the theatres and basilicas which the Roman administration had built in order to establish a settled population on the desert which would defend the frontier from the invasions of the Parthian kings. This portion of the Orient never ceased to be a battleground, and the Romans covered the entire country with rectangular military camps defended by towers and walls. Within these enclosures streets of soldiers' quarters were regularly laid out crossing one another at right angles. East of the frontier was an almost parallel line of handsome castles belonging to the military leaders of the Parthians and defying the Latins with the insolent display of their Oriental magnificence (fig. 109). These three elements were long in constant contact with one another; the ardent Christian population of Syria living on the edge of the desert, the Roman legionaries who defended the country, and the Parthian chieftains whose esthetic tastes and structural activities followed purely Oriental lines. It no longer surprises us that the Persian dome should have been introduced into Syria and from there into Byzantium, nor that the reliefs and other decorations of the Christian population betray a familiarity with the fantastic complicated and interlaced patterns and piquant decorative designs of the Orient.

We have already reproduced in the first volume of this work that famous relief of the façade of the palace of M'shatta as a characteristic example of the contrast which this new Oriental taste in decoration offered to that of classical Graeco-Roman art (Vol. I, fig. 762).

One of the presbyteries of the Kalat Seman. *(Princeton Expedition.)* SYRIA.

Transept of the Kalat Seman. *(Princeton Expedition.)* SYRIA.

The palace of M'shatta cannot be dated with certainty. If it is true, as Strzygowski believes, that its famous frieze was carved in the Fifth Century, that is, prior to the erection of S. Sophia at Constantinople, there could no longer be any doubt that the essential principles of Byzantine decorative art originated in the Orient on the stony plains of Syria and along the border of the Mesopotamian desert.

Fig. 96.—Monastery of Mar Saba. *Palestine.*

It has been proved beyond question, however, that the entire Roman Orient, from the shores of the Black Sea to the Euphrates and from the table-lands of Asia Minor to Egypt, was profoundly stirred at this time. The Christian churches became engaged with fervent piety in the task of creating a new dogma and a new art. The echoes of this movement reached Rome, it is true, but its principal centres were Ephesus, Seleucia, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Bosra and Palmyra in the desert. In the ruins of Madaba, one of the many Palestine cities of this period, there is a church with a mosaic map on its floor. This shows the entire country in perspective. In the centre is Jerusalem, plainly drawn, with its walls, gates, arcaded streets and principal buildings (fig. 98). The form of the city appears to be elliptical, and it is surrounded with turreted walls. A broad

Fig. 97.—Monastery of St. Elias. Mt. Carmel. *Palestine.*

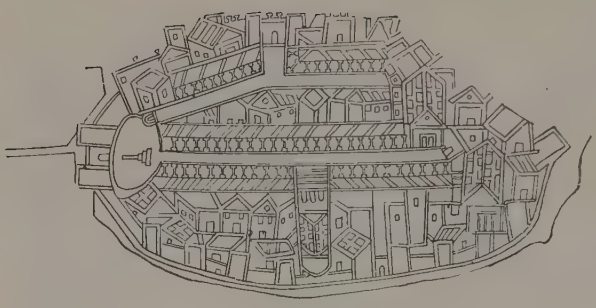

Fig. 98. — View of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century.
Mosaic of Madaba.

street lined with porticos, probably the *Via Recta* of the pilgrims, extends from one end of the city to the other, beginning at the Gate of Damascus which still retains its name. On this street we see a building set up upon a terraced platform. It has three doors and must be the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Another street with an arcade on one side only runs off at an angle and is probably the *Via Dolorosa*.

The topography of the other portions of the Madaba map is quite accurate. We see lakes and rivers with boats floating on their surface and fish swimming in their depths, and the Greek names of the various localities are all given. Indeed, with a little imagination and the Madaba map, it is not difficult to see this sparsely inhabited region again teeming with a prosperous population.

Another art centre during the first centuries of Christianity was Egypt. Alexandria maintained closer relations with Rome, perhaps, than did any of the Asiatic capitals. We have already noted the belief of many modern critics that certain handsome ritual objects of the early Christian Church were produced in Alexandria, inspired by that Hellenistic art which had so long had its centre in this city. But if we wish to seek for Christian architecture of any importance in Egypt, we must go back to the so-called Coptic art of the famous monks of the Thebaid. Down to the Third Century Egypt remained faithful to her old religious concepts. Prior to the persecutions of Decius, only Edfu on the Upper Nile had given two martyrs to the new Church. Indeed, Egypt's conversion to Christianity was more by way of rebellion against the Roman Government than because of the profound religious convictions of her people. Once converted, however, the Egyptians shed rivers of blood for the new faith. The last persecutions in Egypt were characterized by a severity unsurpassed in any other province of the Empire, and from that time on the bishops of this country could command in the Church Councils the respect and authority due them by virtue of Egypt's many martyrs to the cause.

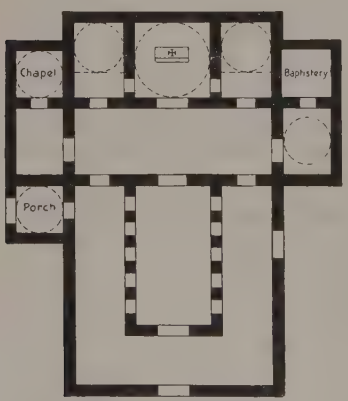

Fig. 99. — Plan of the church of the Coptic monastery, Anba Bishôi.
Upper Egypt.

It was in Egypt that the idea of monastic life originated, and from here it spread rapidly in Asia. First, Antony, then Paul and his disciple Macarius, and later, the great founders of

Fig. 100. — Coptic frieze. *(Museum of New York.)*

the Coptic monasteries, particularly that of Shenûdah, were the predecessors of St. Benedict and St. Basil who established the first regular monastic orders. These communities of Egyptian monks became extremely large; but they soon lost their early fervor, and the Coptic monasteries contributed but little to the formation of the Christian dogma. In the field of art, however, they played a more important part. The Egyptian Church became completely isolated after the Council of Chalcedon, for it embraced heresy in defiance of the rest of the Christian world. Thus Coptic art, confined to its own resources, was obliged to seek in the symbolism of the old Egyptian religion the themes which it did not find in its own Christian traditions. This was the part played by Egypt in the development of the forms of the new art. At first the Hellenistic school of Alexandria made a definite contribution to Christian art in general, but later on Coptic art remained apart from the main current, Christianizing the

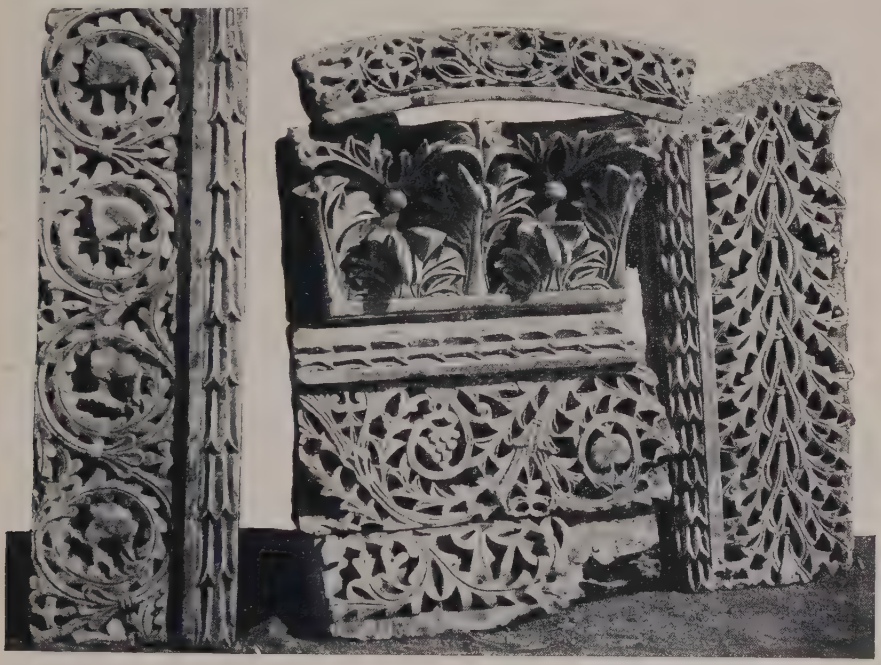

Fig. 101. — Coptic sculptures. *(Egypt Exploration Fund.)*

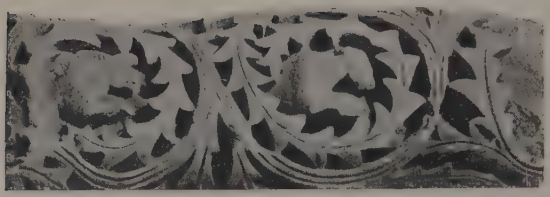

Fig. 102. — Coptic art. *(Museum of Cairo.)*

mythology of Egypt and the Orient and giving it a strange interpretation of its own. It was during the intermediary stage that the great monasteries of the Thebaid were constructed, particularly those whose remains are still preserved. They were all built more or less on the same plan. There was a great rectangular enclosure surrounded by a plain wall, ornamented with the Egyptian gola along the top. Within, was a cruciform church with domes over the transept or apses (fig. 99). Unlike the Syrian churches, these domes were supported by conical arches, and in the apses we often find niches separated by small ornamental columns. Their sculptures present a curious Christian mythology, heretical to say the least, but the decorations are composed of angular leaves which fill the entire field of the relief as in Byzantine art (figs. 100 to 106).

Fig. 103. — Coptic art. *(Museum of Cairo.)*

The earliest pictorial manifestations of Egyptian Christian art are the paintings found in the catacombs of Alexandria in 1863 near the so-called Column of Pompey. The style of these frescoes is very similar to that of the paintings in the Roman catacombs, confirming the theory that certain themes found at Rome were brought from Egypt. Later on, the Coptic monks also decorated their churches with paintings. The remains of some of these frescoes are to be seen in the churches of the convents of Bâwit and Sakkara, where we find scenes from the Gospels together with pictures of local saints. Christ and the Virgin were painted preferably in the vault of the apse (fig. 107). In 1912 an important collection of Coptic

Fig. 104.—Orpheus. Coptic relief. *(Museum of Cairo.)*

St. Luke and St. Mark. The cover of a Coptic Gospel-book. Sixth Century.
(Freer Collection.) WASHINGTON.

manuscripts was discovered, some of them illuminated with miniatures, which was acquired by the library of J. P. Morgan at New York. A manuscript of Coptic copies of the Gospels with covers of painted wood, now in the Freer collection, show us a new type of the apostles. Here we see them standing and holding a book. (Plate VIII.)

Our best impression of Coptic art is gained from their fabrics. Thanks to the dry Egyptian climate, where nearly everything is preserved indefinitely, we still have a considerable number of embroidered tunics and sudaria which date from early Christian times (fig. 108). Most of the museums of Europe possess examples of these artistic fabrics. Their interlaced designs, monsters and other figures are typical of this art; once seen, they are never forgotten. At first most of the Coptic fabrics were discovered at Antinoe, a Roman city founded by Hadrian in Upper Egypt, but they are now frequently found elsewhere in the Christian tombs of the first centuries.

In this chapter we have discussed the entrance of new peoples and countries into the history of art. It is evident that Rome, with the frescoes of her catacombs and the mosaics of her basilicas, did not entirely monopolize the field of early Christian art. We find in distant provinces a rare talent for the creation and development of new types, To the reader who is familiar with the generally accepted theories, it may seem that we have devoted undue space to Egypt and the Orient. These are still the lands of the future; constant new discoveries draw our attention to the rocky deserts of Syria and the hillsides of the Upper Nile, and each year brings new confirmation of the originality and creative power of these early Christians of the Orient. Rome herself may have taken lessons of them; certainly

Figs. 105 and 106. — Coptic reliefs. *(Museum of New York.)*

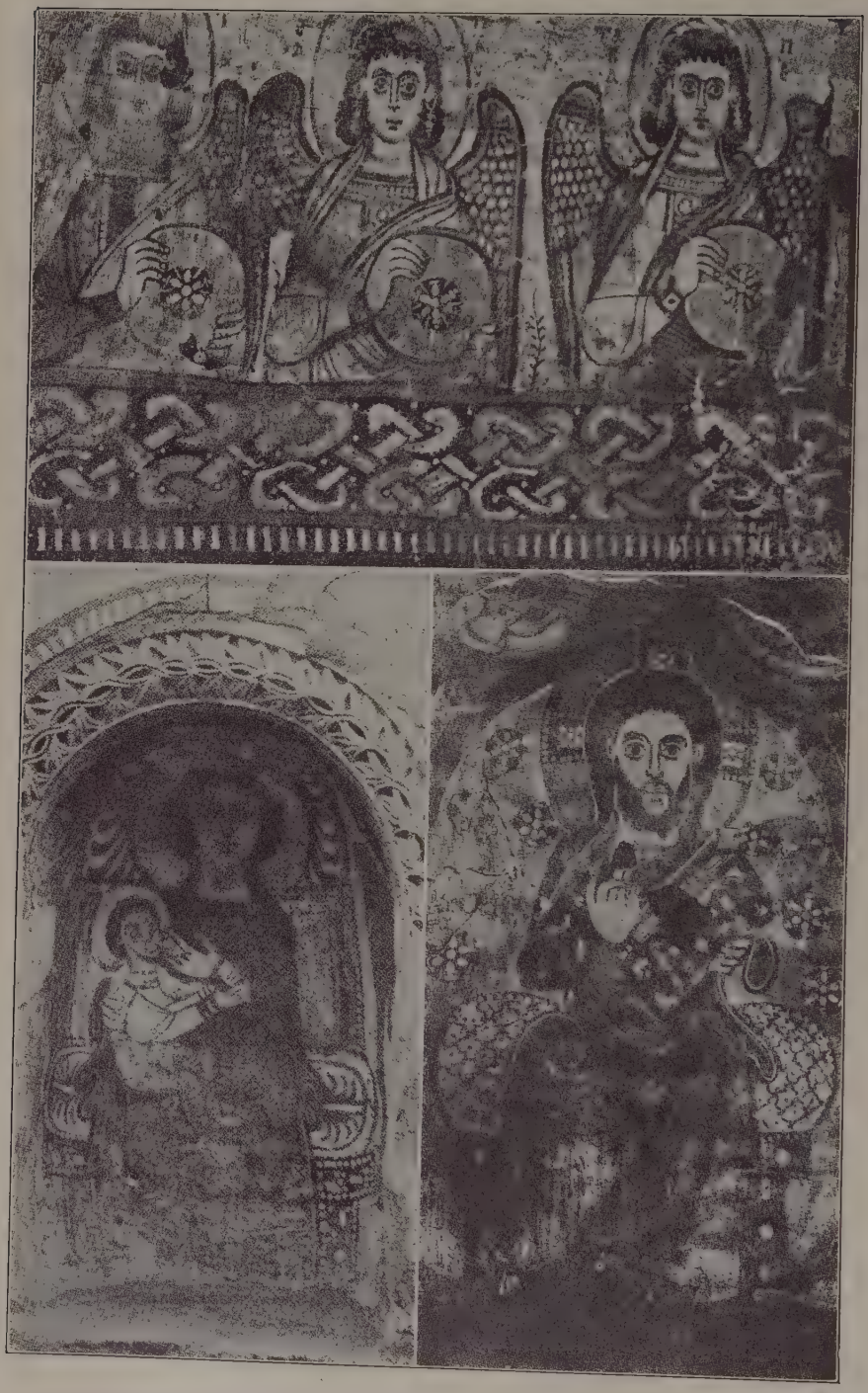

Fig. 107. — Paintings in the Coptic monastery of S. Jeremias. *Sakkara.*

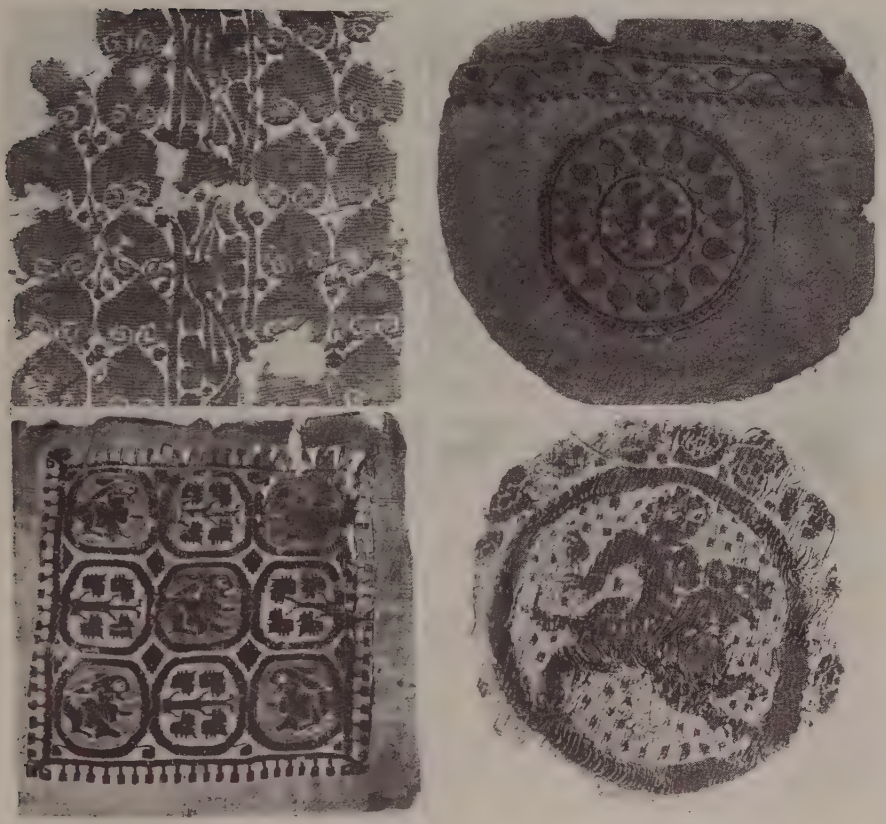

Fig. 108. — Coptic fabrics. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Byzantium profited by their innovations in the magnificent achievements of her imperial art.

But we should not leave the reader under the impression that this theory of the origin of Christian art in the Orient, almost to the exclusion of Rome, has not been combatted by many writers. It cannot be denied, however, that the early Christian themes were portrayed with greater intensity and lasted longer in the Orient than in the Occident. It is this vitality which indicates an Oriental origin. In architecture, in the other hand, it has been shown that certain structural and decorative features of Christian art appeared in Rome before they did in Syria and Constantinople. Orientalists may ascribe this to the well known Eastern influences which affected Rome at the time, but, even so, Rome was the melting-pot of the different Hellenistic schools of art and infused them all with her own spirit of positivism. She took what she wanted from each and produced a new art of her own. The latter is the argument of those who believe in the Roman origin of the types of this new Christian art. But in spite of the weight of their arguments and the evident priority of certain themes found on monuments still existing at Rome, most of the critics today find it difficult to

believe that the nation that built the decadent Roman monuments of the Third Century was capable of creating the new artistic types destined to develop all through the Middle Ages.

Summary. — A theory has been advanced in recent years regarding the Oriental origin of Christian and Byzantine art. This has been well established in the case of certain important objects found in the Occident which we know were made in the Orient. In regard to architecture, we are not quite so certain, but it cannot be denied that under the later Roman Empire, Roman construction was already influenced to some extent by the Orient, particularly in the palace of Diocletian at Spalato. The two Eastern countries in which the spiritual revival was most intense during the first centuries of Christianity were Syria and Egypt. There was then a numerous population in certain regions of Syria which are today desert. Here we find great numbers of ruined churches and monasteries which are now being explored carefully. A little later, Egypt developed a Coptic Christian art all her own, which was to play an important part in the formation of the art of the Saracens.

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Fig. 109. — Castle of M'shatta. *Siria.*

Fig. 110. — Cistern at Constantinople.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE. — CONSTANTINE'S BUILDINGS AT BYZANTIUM AND IN PALESTINE. — BYZANTINE ART IN THE REIGNS OF THEODOSIUS AND JUSTINIAN. — ST. SOPHIA. — THE CHURCHES OF RAVENNA.

It has been generally believed that when the Emperor Constantine founded his new capital on the shore of the Bosphorus, he merely created a city newer in style, perhaps, but similar in plan and conception to the Eternal City in the West which had so long been the capital of the Empire. The settlement of so many of the old patrician families in Byzantium, the situation of the city on seven hills, its division into regions and the edict naming it New Rome have all had a part in the belief that Byzantium, or Constantinople as it is called today, was little more than an ambitious Latin colony founded at the whim of an emperor on the straits lying between Europe and Asia.

But, as we have already noted, Rome had for some time ceased to be the cultural centre of the world. During the first centuries of our era the Orient had again come to life. Rejecting the tutelage of Rome, the East had recovered its Hellenistic traditions and was developing an art and culture of its own. Diocletian had already established headquarters at Spalato and Nicomedia, and Constantine, recognizing the necessity of a new capital in the Orient, first considered rebuilding Troy in Asia Minor, but finally decided upon the small Greek city of

Byzantium. Little is known of the origin of the latter city; it had played but an insignificant part in Greek history. It was located not far from the marble quarries of the Proconnesus on the Sea of Marmora, where the Byzantine marble-workers flourished who exported their columns and other carvings to the most distant cities of the Empire.

A Fourth Century historian tells us that Constantine himself traced the line of the walls of his new capital. The work was carried on rapidly, and a few months later, in March 330 A.D., the ceremony of consecrating the new metropolis took place. Without analyzing the accuracy of these statements, we know positively that Constantine practically completed the project before his death. The water system had been installed, the walls and gates constructed, and the city already possessed the nuclei of the great monumental structures which, though they were rebuilt from time to time, were the pride of the city all through the Middle Ages.

An arcaded street similar to the Jerusalem thoroughfare shown in the Madaba mosaic (fig. 98) traversed the city from the westernmost gate to the shore of the Golden Horn. This was called the Mesé and crossed the famous square styled the Augustaion around which were grouped the principal buildings of Constantinople.

All during the Middle Ages the Augustaion retained much the same form which it assumed in the time of Constantine. Around all four sides was a colonnade and the square was adorned with statues of the Saviour and other figures connected with the Christian faith, set side by side with celebrated works of pagan art. The ancient cities of the Orient had been despoiled of their sculptures in order to embellish the new capital. Great quantities of statues were brought from Athens, Rhodes, Antioch and Seleucia; even at Rome a wealthy matron sent a number of famous sculptures to assist the first Christian emperor to carry out this project. Throughout the Middle Ages Constantinople never lost its dual character of a Hellenistic city and a Christian capital. When the Crusaders captured the city in the Thirteenth Century, the famous bronze statue of Hercules by Lysippus still stood in one of the colonnades of the Augustaion, where it was destroyed by these fanatics. But in the centre of the Forum was a monumental cross adorned with pre-

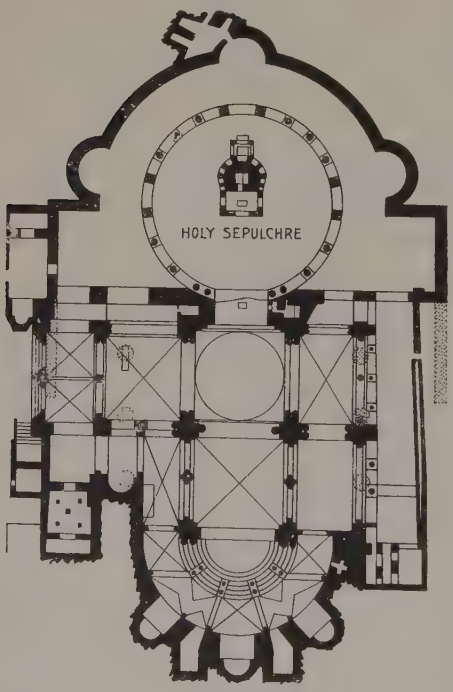

Fig. 111.—Plan of the Holy Sepulchre after the Crusades. JERUSALEM.

cious stones, and the figure of the Good Shepherd was everywhere present, the special ornament of the fountains of the city.

Fig. 112. — View of the exterior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. JERUSALEM.

To the east of the Augustaion lay the Senate House, one of the finest buildings of the capital, but we know little about it. Behind it was the Imperial Palace and opposite was the Hippodrome. At the northern end was the church of Holy Wisdom, St. Sophia, founded by Constantine and magnificently rebuilt by Justinian. Of all the buildings of the Augustaion only St. Sophia still stands. No trace remains of the Senate House or the Imperial Palace; of the Hippodrome only the three monuments which marked the spina are still in place. These are the Egyptian obelisk which Theodosius brought to Constantinople, still resting upon its sculptured base, the three-headed serpent column from Delphi and another monument somewhat resembling an obelisk. Today the site of the great circus is occupied by the square of At-Meidan. It is only by means of these monuments and the church of St. Sophia that we can determine the sites of the other buildings which formerly lay about this square. We know their relative position from the descriptions that have come down to us.

Constantine's project was supported by the rich patricians of Rome who transferred their families and possessions to the new city. Like the higher nobility of the Middle Ages and the cardinals of the Renaissance, some of these early Byzantine magnates possessed residences which almost rivaled that of the Emperor. One of these belonging to a certain Lausus was of enormous size; the palace together with its subsidiary buildings occupied an entire district on one side of the thoroughfare called the Mesé.

If some of the patricians were reluctant to leave their old homes at Rome, Constantine found means to persuade them. We are told how the Emperor sent twelve of his wealthiest generals on a campaign against the Persians, and in the meantime transported their families to Constantinople, where he had reproduced their Roman palaces down to the very doors and windows.

But all these buildings constructed in the reign of Constantine have long since disappeared. Probably the only examples of Fourth Century construction still remaining in Constantinople are the famous cisterns. Their arrangement has no precedent in Roman architecture. They are divided into squares by rows

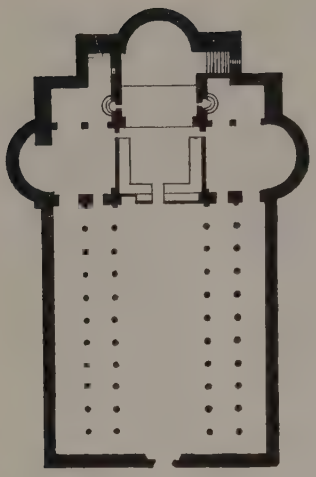

Fig. 113. — Plan of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

of parallel columns supporting hemispherical vaults which recall the roofs of the Orient, especially those of Syria (fig. 110). In order to raise the ceiling these columns sometimes support another series of pillars forming a second story, but the roof is still composed of innumerable small domes, each resisting the thrust of the one adjoining.

Even though the capitals of the columns are not ornamented, their shape is still typical of the art of Byzantium and never that of the capitals of classical Roman art. Consequently, the only structures that have come down to us from Constantine's time are extremely significant. They are of a new and original style and no longer follow the old Latin traditions.

These details of the form and structure of the early Byzantine cisterns may be taken as an indication that when the new capital was founded, the artistic tastes and methods of the Orient were already in vogue. But we see the contrary to be the case at Rome, even in structures erected by Constantine himself. His triumphal arch and the basilicas of St. Paul without the Walls and the Vatican still followed the classical styles after a fashion.

Equally perplexing is the character of the buildings constructed by this emperor in Palestine.

After the miraculous discovery of the Holy Sepulchre Constantine recommended that "every means should be taken not only to construct a basilica finer than anything in the entire world, but also to provide it with everything required for the cult in such a manner that it shall surpass in splendor every church in existence." He gave orders that the workmen should be assembled and all the columns and other precious materials gathered, "for it is appropriate," he added, "that the most wonderful spot in the world should be adorned in a fitting manner." The Emperor concluded, saying: "I desire to learn from you whether the ceiling of the basilica should be decorated with panels or in some other manner. If you prefer panels, they could be covered with gold." He even went so far as to call for a report on the number of columns, marble slabs and panels needed to carry out his plans in a suitable manner. The great church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by fire, and its remains were utilized to construct the numerous chapels for the various Christian sects. The general lines of the building erected by Constantine can hardly be traced in the present complex structure. It combined the features of the basilica with those of the circular church. According to the description by Eusebius space was left for an atrium in front of the church. Here was a court surrounded by colonnades which had been enriched by the addition of a monumental gateway in keeping with the magnificence of the interior (fig. 111).

All during the Middle Ages the Church of the Holy Sepulchre served as

Fig. 114. — Church of the Nativity. Interior. BETHLEHEM.

a model for circular churches, particularly for the Templars' churches in the Twelfth Century. Today, after many transformations, only the modest wooden cupola recalls the original stone structure (fig. 112).

The second church in Palestine which dates from Constantine's time was that erected at Bethlehem over the cave of the Nativity. Eusebius of Caesarea, the biographer and panegyrist of Constantine and his family, tells us of the journey of St. Helena, the mother of the Emperor, to Palestine and the means taken by this devout lady to perpetuate the memory of the holy places connected with the life of Jesus. "She consecrated two churches to the God whom she adored, one on the mount from which He ascended and the other over the dark cave in which He was born. The sainted Empress richly embellished the place of the Saviour's birth, and Constantine later beautified the sanctuary with gold, silver and the finest paintings."

The basilica has been subject to more or less ill treatment, it is true, but it never suffered the misfortunes which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has undergone. Between the nave and the four aisles the lines of columns are still to be seen with their beautiful Corinthian capitals, all carved in the purest classical style (figs. 113 and 114). It is interesting to note that while the church at Jerusalem was a mixture of the Oriental cupola and the Latin basilica, the plan of the Bethlehem structure and the arrangement of its nave, aisles and ceiling are all in a pure classical style.

This building is very similar to the Roman basilicas; indeed it is almost the counterpart of the church of St. Paul without the Walls and the old basilica of the Vatican. It is now coated with whitewash and was disfigured till little ago by the choir in the centre required by the rites of the Greek church, none of the

Fig. 115. — The Emperor and the architect.
(Illuminated MS of the Chronicles of St. Sophia.)
VATICAN.

original decoration having been preserved. The only ornamentation consists of mosaics in the side walls which represent church councils and are of a much later date.

We are, therefore, very doubtful as to the precise nature of the earlier imperial buildings at Byzantium and in Palestine. We only know that during the two centuries between the time of Constantine and that of Justinian Byzantine art was steadily losing its Latin character and becoming more Oriental.

The reign of Theodosius is still represented at Constantinople by the pedestal of one of the obelisks. It is ornamented with relief carvings representing the Emperor presiding over the games of the Hippodrome. Some reused capitals found in Byzantine buildings of a later period probably date from this time. Their undulating acanthus leaves seem to quiver in the wind.

But during the long reign of Justinian this hesitation between the old and new ceased, and from that time on architecture consistently followed the new styles.

The most famous structure of this period and, for that matter, of all Byzantine architecture is the metropolitan church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, now converted into a Turkish mosque. Here we see employed all the structural methods and ingenious devices of the new school of architecture. It is the greatest monument of this remarkable art and the finest of its kind. During the two hundred years that separated Justinian from Constantine the art of the Empire was continually absorbing not only the characteristics of Syria but also those of the country still further to the east, possibly even some of the spirit of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. We find a period of transition from the basilicas, which like the one at Bethlehem were almost Roman in character, to this great prototype of a new art.

As in Constantine's time, this work was also due to the personal initiative of the Emperor. He erected temporary quarters in order to exercise a closer supervision over the progress of the work from day to day (fig. 115). The populace ascribed the plan and all the details of this church to the direct inspiration of an angel who often visited the Emperor. Procopius, the official historian of this reign who wrote a book on the buildings of Justinian, tells us of the active part taken by the Emperor and his daily consultations with the directors whom he

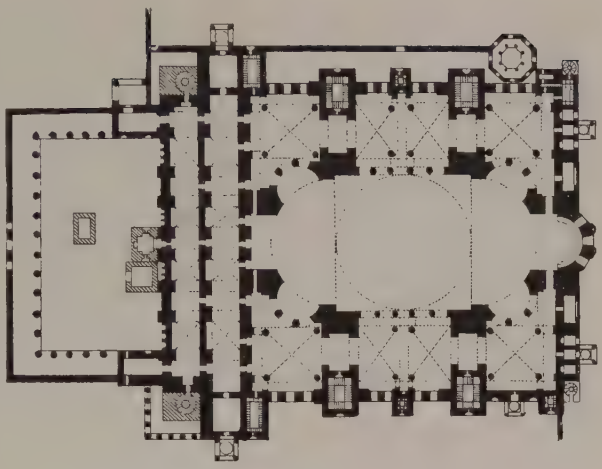

Fig. 116.—Plan of St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE

had placed in charge of the work. "To carry out his ideas," says this writer, "he appointed Anthemius of Tralles, who was without exception the greatest architect not only of his own time but of all succeeding generations. Although he was chief in authority, with him was associated Isidorus, born in Miletus, a man of unusual intelligence and truly worthy of being called to the execution of the work conceived by Justinian Augustus... We must do justice to the great perspicacity of the Emperor," continues Procopius, "who was able to select from among the men of this profession those who were most capable of interpreting his lofty conceptions. He succeeded in making this church a work of incomparable beauty, extraordinary to those who know it by report only."

These words of the Byzantine historian reflect the same consciousness of the realization of exceptional beauty which Phidias and Pericles felt when the Parthenon was built ten centuries before. But, what a difference in their conception of beauty!

The expense incurred in the construction of St. Sophia was stupendous. Justinian commanded his provincial governors to send him the finest marble and most precious materials of every sort. One of our modern historians makes a just comparison of the standards of the ancient Greeks with those of the builders of St. Sophia and the manner in which they made use of the materials at their disposal. Pointing out the more inspired preference of the former for the austere beauty and dazzling whiteness of the Parthenon, he also does justice to Byzantine art and admits that for all its ostentation, this wealth of gold, marble and mosaic has been employed in St. Sophia with the most exquisite taste.

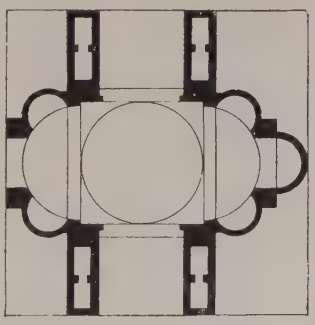

Fig. 117.—Structural scheme as shown by the plan of St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

The very plan of the building reveals the fact that it developed in obedience to a new artistic feeling. The briefest examination makes it evident that it was arranged principally with the view of supporting the great central dome. The latter is one hundred seven feet in diameter; it forms a circle inscribed in a large square and is

Fig. 118. — View of the domes of St. Irene and St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

upheld by four curvilinear triangles at the corners, called pendentives. Each of these rests upon a lofty pier (figs. 116 and 117). This is the most important innovation introduced by Byzantine architecture, and it is for this that the dome of St. Sophia became so famous. The cupola rests only upon these four supports and not on a broad circular wall as in the Pantheon and the baths at Rome, many of which have a greater spread than the dome of St. Sophia. Through the medium of the wall the Roman dome really rests upon the ground, while that of St. Sophia is an airy structure supported by arches and piers and buttressed by semi-domes on two sides. On the other two sides the lateral pressure is resisted by two arches which also act as counterforts (fig. 117). To lessen the weight of the dome as much as possible the ingenious architects of St. Sophia constructed it of the spongy bricks manufactured in the Island of Rhodes. These are so light that five of them scarcely equal the weight of an ordinary brick.

Fig. 119.— Door of the narthex of St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

The exterior of the great central dome is disappointing. It is masked for a third of its height by a drum (fig. 118) which is pierced by a line of windows encircling the great hemisphere and illuminating the church. At the same time they lighten the weight of the cupola. But nothing could be more striking than the interior. The eye is lost in

Fig. 120. — Interior of St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

the vast space overhead. We do not receive the impression of repose and solidarity produced by the Pantheon. We have rather the sensation of a dome floating in space, suspended from the heavens (fig. 120). The brilliant mosaics which once decorated it must have heightened the effect produced by the great hemisphere. Barbarians have destroyed or covered over with whitewash the figures of the Redeemer and the seraphim which once filled its centre. Only on the pendentives in the corners do we still see the four six-winged seraphim.

The two lateral arches are filled with the large galleries above the aisles. Here the court looked down upon the ceremonies performed below. (Plate IX.) The walls which fill these arches above the galleries cannot support much of the weight of the dome, pierced as they are with numerous windows. All the weight of the great cupola must rest upon the four piers, and it is not to be wondered at that Justinian's architects constructed them with special care. "These pillars," says Procopius, "were built of squared blocks of hard stone, hewn with much skill and joined, not with quicklime nor bitumen, but with lead poured into the joints which filled every crevice."

Procopius praises the magnificence of the decoration of the building, its porticos and lofty galleries, one of which was for the men and the other for the women. "But who could describe," he asks, "the upper story of the women's gallery or the porches and the colonnaded courts with which the church is encompassed? Who can tell of the splendor of the columns and marbles with which the church is adorned? One would think that one had come upon a flowery meadow; one marvels at the purple hues of some and the green of others..."

Fig. 121. — Capital and mosaics of the narthex of St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

Surely the galleries of St. Sophia are numbered among the most precious gems in the treasury of mankind. The church is still enriched by its two vestibules. The outer one is like a closed porch and formerly opened upon a rectangular court, while another broader narthex adjoins the main body of the church and is still almost intact with its beautiful columns and mosaics (fig. 121).

Procopius gives us some idea of the splendor with which the Emperor furnished the great temple when he says: "Moreover, it is impossible to describe with accuracy the treasures of gold and silver plate and gems which the Emperor has presented to the church; the Sanctuary alone contains forty thousand pounds weight of silver." Naturally, these have long since disappeared, but the handsome bronze doors leading from the narthex into the main church afford us some conception of the richly furnished interior in former days (figs. 119 and 122).

The up-keep of the church required the revenues from three hundred estates lying about the capital, and Justinian's successors supplemented this large income with generous gifts. The building was begun in 522 and completed in December 537 when it was consecrated. Restorations soon became necessary. Procopius writes that even during the lifetime of Anthemius and Isidorus faults developed in the arches which supported the great dome. A few years later the dome itself fell in as the result of an earthquake, and it was necessary to rebuild it. This was accomplished under the direction of a nephew of Isidorus who had inherited the ability as well as the office of the master.

Besides St. Sophia Procopius also describes the other monuments built or restored by Justinian at the capital. First he mentions the equestrian statue of the Emperor in the centre of the Augustaion, then the church of St. Irene and

Interior of S. Sophia. The lateral galleries. CONSTANTINOPLE.

the various hospitals. A chapter follows on the church of St. Mary at Blachernae, set within the Sacred Palace. He tells of the churches of St. Anna, St. Zoe, the Archangel Gabriel, SS. Peter and Paul, SS. Sergius and Bacchus and finally the famous church of the Holy Apostles which contained the tombs of the emperors.

The church of St. Irene is still standing not far from St. Sophia (fig. 118). Like all the buildings of Byzantium its history is a constant succession of restorations and consecrations. Prior to the foundation of the new capital Constantine had already erected a church upon the spot, possibly the site of one of the early Christian chapels. Constantine's church was rebuilt by Justinian after the fire of 532, and this is probably the same building that we see today. The narthex was restored in 564 after another fire, and the domes were repaired by Leo III, the Isaurian, after the earthquake of 740. Irene is the Greek for Peace and was the sister of Hagia Sophia, or Holy Wisdom, whose temple was not far away. The construction of St. Irene is characteristically Byzantine. The plan consists of a large central nave divided by an arch into two parts each of which is covered by a dome which rests upon the curvilinear triangles called pendentives (fig. 123). The domes have the same diameter, but one is higher, being set upon a drum which is pierced with windows. The other has a flattened ovoid form and rests directly upon the four arches. The nave is flanked by two lateral aisles the columns of which carry a gallery, and above are barrel-vaults. Its arrangement is similar to that of a church at Kassaba in Asia Minor, although the latter has but one dome instead of two. So we see that Byzantine architecture had its well established types which were repeated with more or less variation in the various provinces of the Empire. Another church in Constantinople, that of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, may also preserve the arrangement of the original building erected by Justinian. The dome rests upon eight piers which trace the outline of an octagon, but each

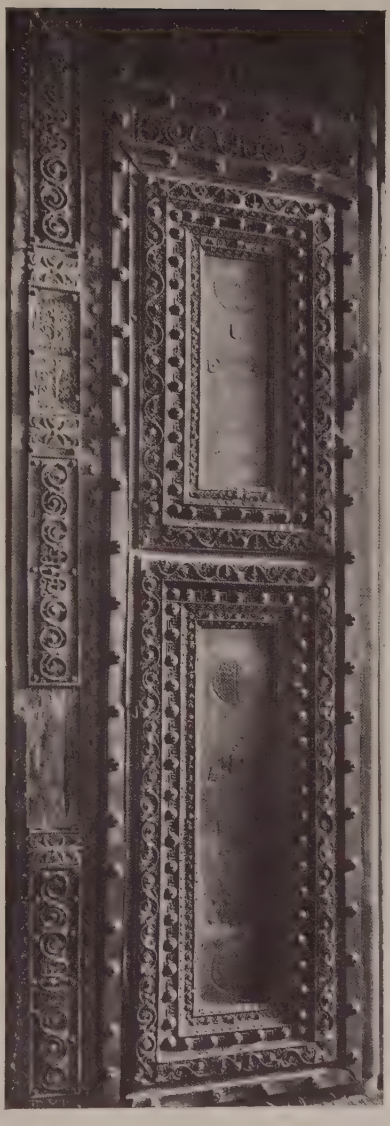

Fig. 122. — Bronze door in St. Sophia. CONSTANTINOPLE.

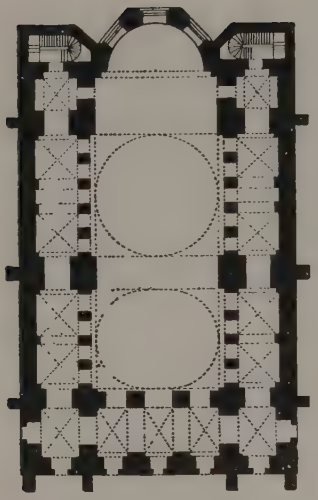

Fig. 123. — Plan of the church of St. Irene. CONSTANTINOPLE.

of the corners is broken by a semicircular niche (fig. 124).

The church of the Holy Apostles has completely disappeared. Procopius praises it highly and says: "Its nave and transept form a cross... As in St. Sophia the roof is domed, but here the domes are smaller. Above the four arches at the intersection rises a hemispherical cupola pierced with windows and so lofty that it seems to float in the air. Over each arm of the cross is a similar dome but without windows."

The church of the Holy Apostles is of unusual importance to our history, for it served as a model for Western Europe and was copied more extensively than any other of the domed Byzantine buildings. The great metropolitan church of St. Sophia involved too many complicated features for the Western architects to attempt to copy it. The simpler cruciform church of the Holy Apostles with its five domes which supported one an other was a type more easily imitated and did not require the exceptionally light material to which only Byzantine architects had access. It was first copied in St. Mark's at Venice whence it passed over to the French cathedrals in Auvergne, as in St. Front at Perigueux where the Venetians had a prosperous colony.

The Turks have mutilated and whitewashed the Byzantine churches of Constantinople, and the lack of mosaics and rich furnishings makes it difficult to appreciate their former magnificence. But at Ravenna, that amazing city on the Adriatic, we still find intact some of the most precious gems of Byzantine art. The importance of this city dates from the time of Honorius. When the Emperor of the West saw his Italian provinces threatened by the barbarians and began to fear even for Rome itself, he moved his court to a small city on the Adriatic, defended by the malarial lagoons about it and a most favorable site from which in last resort to take ship and flee for safety to his brother, Arcadius, who reigned at Byzantium. A number of important buildings were erected there during his reign, and by good fortune the handsome mausoleum of his sister, Galla Placidia, has been preserved intact. It is a cruciform building the arms of which are barrel-vaulted, and above the intersection is a dome (fig. 125). This small structure possesses a charm which, once seen, can never be forgotten. The blues and greens of the ceiling are strewn with golden stars (fig. 126). As we enter we see the Good Shepherd surrounded by his lambs, all in the finest mosaic, and beyond is the great sarcophagus of the princess behind the altar. In the transepts are the sarcophagi of her brother, the Emperor Honorius, and her

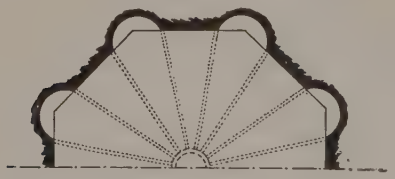

Fig. 124. — Plan of the cupola of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. CONSTANTINOPLE

husband, Constantius. Like all the buildings of Ravenna, the exterior is of modest brick-work (fig. 127), ornamented only with the arcaded panels so characteristic of Lombard construction and mediaeval Romanesque architecture.

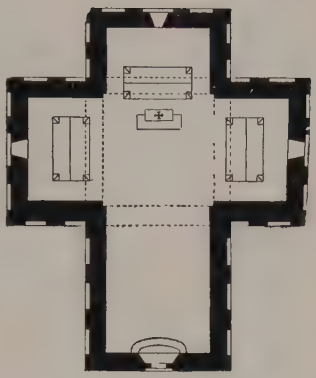

Fig. 125. — Plan of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. RAVENNA.

Four large basilicas date from the same early period when Ravenna was still the capital, but their original appearance has been greatly changed by restorations. We have accurate knowledge only of the cathedral which was begun by Bishop Ursus in the first years of the Fifth Century. It was a great basilica with a nave and four aisles which survived down to the Eighteenth Century. When it was destroyed to make way for the modern cathedral, drawings were made of its plan and elevation, and the Pope planned to perpetuate the memory of the ancient structure in a magnificent publication.

It is difficult, nevertheless, to form an adequate idea of this church from the engravings. According to some authorities, the Basilica Ursiana was merely a Latin basilica like those of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, but others believe that it was an Oriental Byzantine structure with only the ground-plan of a basilica. These early churches of Ravenna, of which only the tomb of Galla

Fig. 126. — Interior of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. RAVENNA.

Fig. 127.—Exterior of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. RAVENNA.

Placidia has come down to us, were succeded by an epoch of comparative decadence due to the invasion of the Goths. Later, the reign of Theodoric inaugurated a new period of brilliancy which continued during the Byzantine occupation that followed.

Italy lost to the Empire and the West in the hands of the barbarians, the Eastern emperors began the reconquest of the Mediterranean provinces and made Ravenna the capital of the Exarchate with jurisdiction over Southern Italy, Sicily, the North of Africa and Spain. It is the Ravenna of this period with its new monuments that we see today. Like a city asleep, Ravenna still preserves the principal buildings which the Exarchs constructed at the orders of the emperors of the East, especially Theodosius and Justinian. Along her streets and in the arcades of her deserted squares we see private houses adorned with antique columns and handsome Byzantine capitals. The imperial city of the Adriatic, today only a provincial town, abounds in monuments. The basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo is still preserved, and another large church at the port is also dedicated to this saint. There are two baptisteries and the marvelous church of S. Vitale which was formerly attached to the palace of the Exarchs.

The two baptisteries are, perhaps, the most ancient of these buildings. Like that of St. John Lateran at Rome, they are octagonal in form and in the centre of each is a handsome marble font. One was originally for the orthodox Christians and the other for the Arians; both preserve their old mosaic decoration on the walls and in the domes (fig. 128). Outside, they are constructed of

large bricks which offer little indication of the gold and brilliant colors within. In the centre of the dome we see the baptism in the Jordan; below, a row of Apostles bear books and rolls. In a still lower zone is a mosaic representation of curtains and niches containing objects connected with the ritual. These mural decorations of hanging curtains, furnishings and even fountains, all done in brilliant polychrome, were a favorite Byzantine theme, and we find the earliest examples of this style in the baptisteries of Ravenna.

Fig. 128. — Orthodox baptistery. RAVENNA.

The great basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo was at first dedicated to St. Martin, and for three centuries it was called St. Martin with the Golden Ceiling. But in 856, when the basilica at the port, the present S. Apollinare in Classe, was sacked by the Saracens, the body of the patron saint of Ravenna was carried for safety to the church of St. Martin which was then named S. Apollinare Nuovo to distinguish it from the church at the port.

Its plan is genuinely Latin, consisting of a nave and two aisles separated by rows of columns. The ceiling of the nave is of wood (fig. 129), but the aisles are vaulted. Unlike the classical capitals of the Roman basilicas, here they are ornamented with spinous acanthus leaves (fig. 130), and between the capital and the springer of the arch is a trapezoidal block called an impost capital which in Byzantine art takes the place of the frieze. The mosaics above the columns in the nave are perhaps the finest production of this new art which had come from the Orient (fig. 131). From the centre of the nave the beholder cannot but admire the processions of saints on every hand. On one side, women and virgins come to adore the Madonna and Child; on the other, saints and martyrs headed by three angels and the Magi move toward the Saviour. It is as though the scene in the cave at Bethlehem were mysteriously prolonged down the centuries. The saints and virgins, dressed in the new style, are undoubtedly the work of Oriental masters. It is impossible to describe the charm of this lonely church with its long lines of extatic figures, Oriental princesses and learned divines, who raise their great pensive eyes in devout self-forgetfulness.

Classis was once the maritime suburb of Ravenna, but the channel has long since filled up, and the former port now lies on a malarial flat amid the pines and shallow lagoons of the coast. The church of S. Apollinare in Classe was begun in 534 and completed eight years later (fig. 132). It, too, consists of a nave

Fig. 129. — Nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo. RAVENNA.

PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 130. — Aisle of S. Apollinare Nuovo. RAVENNA.

PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 131. — Procession of the virgins. S. Apollinare Nuovo. RAVENNA.

and two aisles separated by columns which are similar to those of S. Apollinare Nuovo with their richly ornamented capitals and trapezoidal impost. Above, instead of saints and virgins were medallions containing portraits of the bishops of Ravenna. For a long time the church was left abandoned and the roof had fallen in, so the original decorations of the nave and aisles have disappeared. Only the mosaics of the apse remain. Here we see a great cross in a flowery field, some sheep and the central figure of St. Apollinaris. On the wall above the apse are pictured busts of Christ and the four Evangelists and the mystical cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem from which emerge white sheep symbolizing the souls of the redeemed (fig. 134).

The altar stands upon a raised platform and below is the crypt which once contained the body of the Saint. Here is another apse also decorated with mosaics. In continuation of the aisles are lateral apses cut off from the central one and completely enclosed within chapels, a characteristic arrangement which we shall see again in the Visigothic churches of Spain. S. Apollinare in Classe formerly had a large narthex in front, but this has been altered beyond recognition. To one side of the church is a round campanile similar to the other towers in Ravenna (fig. 133).

The last great work of the Exarchs of Ravenna and originally the most richly decorated of all is the church of S. Vitale. This building has been preserved intact except for its mosaics, many of which were destroyed at the time of the Renaissance. The plan of this church is based on the Byzantine principle

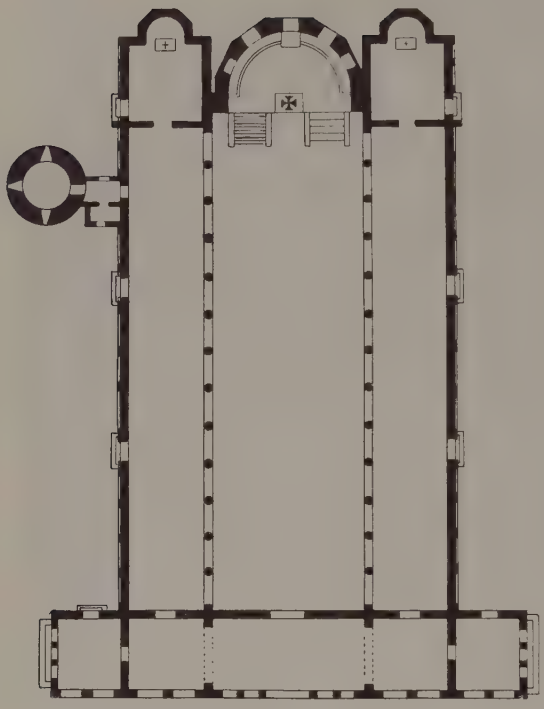

Fig. 132.—Plan of S. Apollinare in Classe. RAVENNA.

of grouping all the elements around a large central cupola which was supported by piers and columns. Here is the complex system of domes which originated in the Orient. The base of the central cupola is an octagon which gradually merges into a hemispherical dome. The lateral thrust is resisted by seven semicircular recesses; on the eighth side is the cross-vault of the chancel which ends in an apse and contains the choir and altar (fig. 135).

The dome of S. Vitale is constructed of rings composed of terra-cotta jars embedded in cement. This lightens it sufficiently to be supported by the thin walls beneath. The aisle surrounding the central cupola is covered with cross-vaults which intersect one another in a very irregular fashion. Both dome and aisle are covered with a roof of timbers and tiles, a feature never found in the churches of Byzantium where the dome itself is seen from the outside. There is a narthex, or vestibule, which is oddly set against one of the corners of the octagon.

The only mosaics which have not been destroyed are found in the choir and apse, and from these we gain some idea of the rich appearance of the rest of the interior in former times. Trees, flowers, plants and animals standing out from a gold background still decorate the chancel-arch and vault. This design is interrupted by medallions containing the figures of prophets and apostles (figure 136). On the side walls of the apse are mosaic compositions of historical personages of the Byzantine court. On one side we see Justinian bringing gifts to the new church and accompanied by Bishop Maximianus and a number of priests, courtiers and soldiers (fig-

Fig. 133.—S. Apollinare in Classe. Exterior. RAVENNA.

Fig. 134. — Mosaic decoration of the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe. RAVENNA.

ure 136). On the opposite side is the Empress Theodora. She is covered with jewels and bears a handsome bowl as she leads a brilliant cortege of court ladies and eunuchs (fig. 138). Here, too, are the hanging curtains, fountain and distant buildings which the mosaic artists loved to picture. The figures are the work of a sympathetic artist. The austere face of the bishop is surely a portrait. Possibly a personal resemblance is intended in the faces of Justinian and Theodora. All the splendor of the Byzantine court is unfolded in these two pictures; the long mantles, tiaras, jewels and the tapestries and magnificent furnishings of the imperial palace reproduce all the pomp of a court ceremony. It is plain to us that in the middle of the Sixth Century, when Justinian was adorning both his capital and the city of the Exarchs with so many splendid monuments, Byzantine art had already achieved a beauty which it found difficult to rival in later years. All the wisdom of the

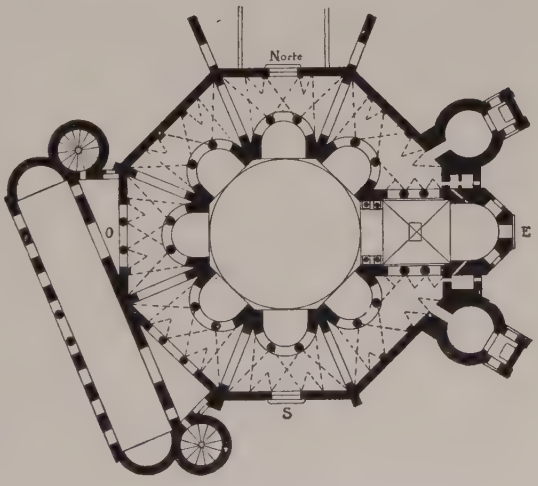

Fig. 135. — Plan of the church of S. Vitale. RAVENNA.

Fig. 136. — S. Vitale. Interior. Ravenna.

ancient world, the wealth of Rome and the art of Greece had taken refuge in Constantinople, and though these Byzantine Greeks may have taken lessons, from the Orient, they had not lost that sense of proportion and feeling for repose and esthetic perfection which was so characteristic of their old classical art.

Also to this first period of Byzantine art, which covered the period from Constantine to Justinian, belonged some of the magnificent churches of Salonika which were destroyed by the fire of 1917. It was truly a period of inspiration and of creative effort. We see in the new forms which appeared at this time a vigor which prophesied a long life, too long perhaps to suit our own Occidental tastes. This is really the reason for the severe attitude which has been generally taken toward Byzantine art. In its best phases its beauty may well be compared with that of any other time. The same explanation accounts to some extent for its power to expand. Both the Western Emperors and the Barbarian chieftains felt a curious fascination for the ideals of the capital of the world, for such Constantinople had now become.

All during the Middle Ages travellers from the Orient described the monuments of the times of Constantine and Justinian in terms of the highest praise.

Fig. 137. — Justinian and his court. *Mosaic in S. Vitale.* RAVENNA.

Fig. 138. — Theodora and her retinue. *Mosaic in S. Vitale.* RAVENNA.

St. Sophia still remains almost intact, but before it was destroyed the church of the Holy Apostles with its imperial tombs was as much or even more admired.

Many of the finest artistic types seen in the mosaics and miniatures of later periods were taken from the work of this epoch. Persian influence is already perceptible, it is true, but never to the extent that it was felt immediately after Justinian's time. The art and life of Byzantium were still free from the threat of a Moslem invasion. There was the Persian menace on the east, but it was nothing compared with the fall of Constantinople itself.

Summary. – We are largely ignorant of the buildings which Constantine constructed in his new capital. In the Holy Land we still see some traces of the arrangement of these early buildings in the cupola of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, a structure that has been rebuilt many times. The basilica at Bethlehem has preserved its original form, a nave and four aisles separated by columns with Corinthian capitals. From the second period of Byzantine art which began in Justinian's time we still have at Constantinople the metropolitan church of St. Sophia. the great church of St. Irene and that of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. St. Sophia is the largest and most important of all the churches of the Orient. Its great dome rests upon four arches, the lateral pressure being resisted by large apses. In front of it was formerly a large court, and the interior of the church was covered with mosaic decorations. On the Adriatic coast of Italy Ravenna was a provincial capital, the seat of the Exarchs, or provincial governors, of the western possessions of the Emperor of the East. Here were built during Justinian's reign a number of Byzantine churches. The most noteworthy of these is S. Vitale, some of the rich mosaics of which are still preserved.

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Fig. 139. — Portraits on painted glass. *(Museum of Brescia.)*

Fig. 140. — Ivory relief representing a religious procession in Constantinople. *(Cathedral at Treves.)*

CHAPTER V

BYZANTINE ART AFTER THE ICONOCLAST EMPERORS. — THE IMPERIAL PALACE. PAINTING AND SCULPTURE. — THE MINOR ARTS: ENAMELS, MINIATURES, GOLDSMITH'S WORK AND TEXTILES.

The reigns of Theodosius and Justinian were the Golden Age of Constantinople, it is true, but the Empire still had eight long centuries of life before it. This was by no means the uninterrupted period of slothful decadence that has so often been pictured. The very word, Byzantine, brings up to our minds only a vague recollection of useless quarrels, unprofitable disputes and hair-splitting, pedantic distinctions. The Western European idea of Byzantium might well be summarized in Taine's epigram quoted by M. Diehl in the first lecture of his course on Byzantine art and history at the Sorbonne: "A nation of subtile theologians and vainglorious idiots." This error was largely due to a belief that Byzantine civilization was from the very first circumscribed by formal rules and precedents as inflexible as a religious dogma, and which kept its artists and thinkers from producing anything in the nature of spontaneous creative work. It is true that everything was governed by the underlying principle of the Christian empire established by Constantine, the rule of God's vicar on earth. The etiquette of the court, the administration of the government and the rules of art and even sciences were all founded on the religious dogmas established by the Fathers in the Church Councils. "It is for the Fathers to dispose and command, and for the painters to execute," was the dictum of the Council of Nicaea. Indeed, certain artistic types were established which, in a general way, were faithfully reproduced for many centuries. Nevertheless, this tyranny was more apparent than real. The Greek artists of the classical period also had their

Fig. 141. — The Kahriyeh Djami. CONSTANTINOPLE.

fixed types which were transmitted from generation to generation, but which never ceased to acquire new beauty. To a lesser degree, the Byzantine artists also succeeded in infusing their secular productions with that variety which is the sole essential in artistic forms. To the superficial critic of fifty years ago the entire repertory of Byzantine art seemed most uniform, but today our perceptions are more acute, and we see the rigidly imposed subject clothed with new and ever varying forms and styles. We now distinguish at least four different styles in Byzantine art. The first prevailed from the foundation of the capital down to the Iconoclasts; the second covered the reigns of these emperors; the third endured from the time of Basil II until the sack of the city by the Crusaders; the fourth, from this date until the Turkish conquest.

These four styles correspond to the four great periods of Byzantine political history, for it is wrong to suppose that everything stood still for so many centuries. We of the West are still unwilling to recognize the importance of that epic struggle with Islam on the battle-fields of Asia Minor, when Byzantium was Europe's only real defence in the East. During the Middle Ages the European idea of the city of Constantinople was very different from that which is now generally held. To them it was the one and only capital of the world. When the largest European cities were little more than petty towns, Constantinople alone, with its populous wards, great buildings and mighty battlements, recalled the greatness of Rome. Its pomp and splendor were a lure to adventurers from everywhere. Within its walls they saw a booty beyond their wildest dreams, and it was a ceaseless struggle to keep them at a distance. These defensive wars developed the talents of many an illustrious leader whose qualities we are only now beginning to appreciate. To repell the Huns, Bulgars, Russians and Normans and to defend the city from the Crusaders, Constantinople had press-

ing need of warlike emperors and astute generals. More than once was the Byzantine court the scene of a conclave of able leaders assembled at a critical moment when the fate of a civilization hung in the balance.

Partisan quarrels and revolutions at home also contributed to the growth of new ideas. It was natural that a period of disputes and revolts should be followed by one of artistic production in which the old subjects should take on new grace and vigor. At such times Art rose again triumphant, and new churches sprang up in every part of the Empire. Brilliant mosaics and graceful porticos proclaimed the birth of a new Byzantine style.

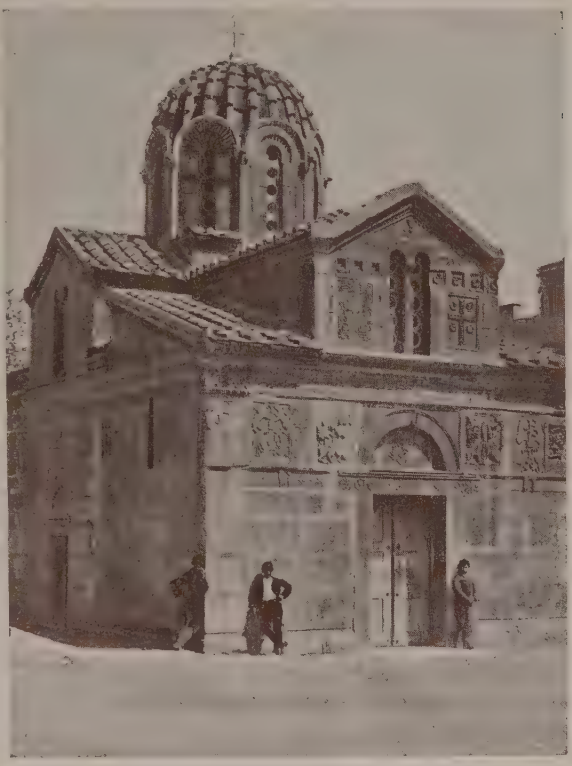

Fig. 142. — Cathedral at Athens.

Taking up the architecture of this nation where we left it in the last chapter, we note with interest that after the persecutions of the Iconoclast Emperors, the shape of the cupola was modified. The dome was raised upon a higher cylindrical drum in order to give the building a more imposing appearance when seen from a distance. These lofty domes could not assume the size of those of St. Sophia and St. Irene, but they increased in number, and architects devised new and ingenious systems for combining a number of them in a single building. The cupola continued to be the most prominent feature of Byzantine roof construction, but it no longer predominated to the extent that it had in Justinian's time, when the plan of the entire building was subordinated to the dome and the massive piers supporting it. Many churches were built in this second style, and we see in all of them the same freedom of structural design. There was usually a portico or a cloister in front. This, too, is often covered with domes which rise from various levels but do not cut off the view of the church proper. The drums of these cupolas are octagonal, the windows are sometimes divided by small columns, and the exterior is often faced with alternating bands of brick and stone that are very pleasing. The Kahriyeh Djami, or Church of the Chora, is a building of this type at Constantinople (fig. 141), as are some of the Saloniki churches which were also erected in the

Fig. 143. — Church of St. Theodore. Athens.

Eleventh Century; but it is in Greece itself, at that time a Byzantine province, that we find the most characteristic examples. One is the so-called Cathedral at Athens with its beautiful antique reliefs taken from older Oriental buildings (fig. 142); another is the church of St. Theodore which is very similar (fig. 143).

During this architectural renaissance a number of the more important buildings were constructed in connection with the imperial palace at Constantinople. This great collection of buildings has disappeared completely, but we know from the descriptions that it must have been the most important example of secular architecture in the Byzantine Empire. Its original foundation dated from the time of Constantine who traced its site on one side of the imperial forum, or Augustaion. The palace was rebuilt by Justinian and his successors enriched it from time to time with new additions. But it was not until the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries that it became the stately assemblage of halls, pavilions and gardens which made it the ideal palace of the mediaeval Romances of Chivalry.

Like the palaces of the Oriental monarchs of Syria and Persia, it consisted of an irregular combination of buildings and gardens. With its isolated pavilions and colonnades, it was from the first very different from the classical dwelling, the Roman house, a model to which the palace of the Caesars on the Palatine at Rome still adhered in spite of the enormous size of the latter. Owing to its proximity to Western Asia, the Oriental character of the Sacred Palace became

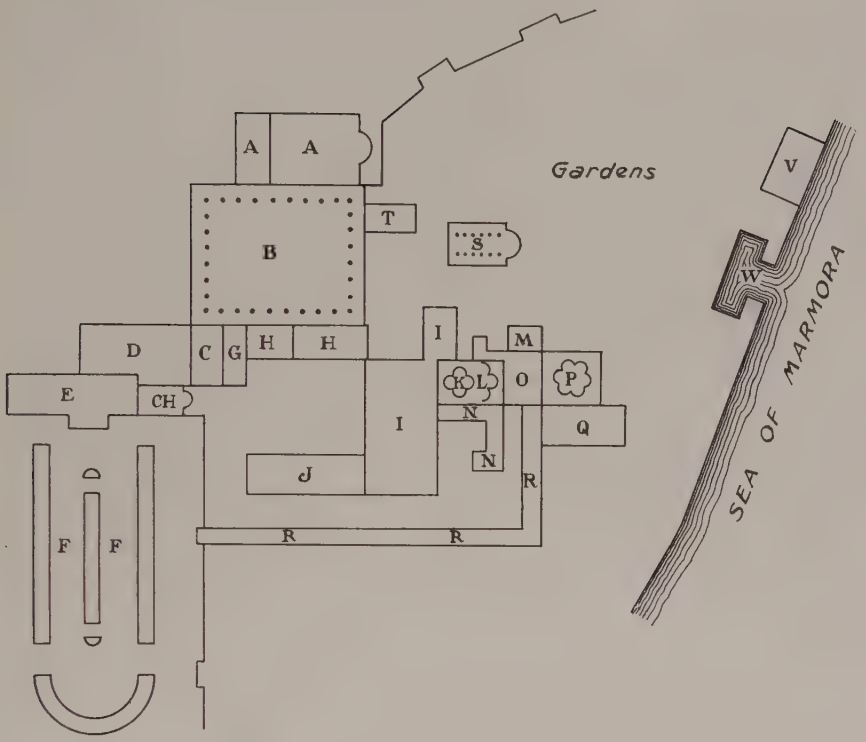

Fig. 144. — General plan of the imperial palace.

A. St. Sophia. — B. Augustaion. — C. Prison. — CH. Church of St. Stephen. — D. Baths of Zeuxippus. — E. Palace of the Katisma. — F. Hippodrome. — G. Chalcé. — H. Triclinium of the nineteen couches. — I. Palace of Daphne. — J. Covered portico. K. Phiale. — L. Sigma and Triconea. — M. Summer Palace. — N. Winter Palace. — O. Offices. — P. Chrysotriclinium. — Q. Triclinium of the three couches. — R. Gallery of Justinian. — S. Magnaura. — T. Senate House. — V. Palace of the Bucoleon. — W. Harbor of the Bucoleon.

more and more accentuated as time went on. Indeed, the Emperors who added to it in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries intentionally imitated the arrangement of the palaces at Bagdad.

Including its gardens, the Sacred Palace occupied almost a hundred acres, an area larger than that covered by the Louvre and Tuileries before the burning of the latter. Its appearance from a distance must have been most imposing. It is true that the eye would not be struck by the regular lines of a splendid façade like those of the royal palaces of Europe; but the beholder would be astounded at the many terraces, domes and galleries on every hand. Of all the great buildings of modern Europe, only the Kremlin at Moscow can give us a faint idea of this great palace. It contained seven colonnades, or vestibules, eight courts and two porticos which served as entrances. There were four large churches, St. Stephen, the Church of Our Lord, St. Mary of the Pharos and the so-called New Church, as well as chapels, oratories and a baptistery, twenty three buildings in all devoted to religious purposes. The palace consisted of guard-rooms, reception halls, triclinia, throne-rooms, a library and the numer-

Fig. 145.—Tribune of the Chalcé. Illuminated manuscript by Skylitzes.
(National Library at Madrid.)

ous private apartments of the emperor, not to mention baths, a small hippodrome, terraces, subterranean galleries (crypto-porticus) and a quay on the Sea of Marmora (fig. 144).

The accounts of the historians seem to establish the fact that the imperial palace was divided into three parts: the Chalcé, or monumental entrance, with its oratories and guard-rooms; the Daphne, consisting of the reception halls and administrative offices; and, last of all, the Sacred Palace itself in which were the halls where ambassadors were received, the Magnaura and Chrysotriclinium, and the private apartments of the emperor. We are more or less ignorant of the exact location of all these structures, but the old chronicles inform us of the general arrangement and use of the principal buildings.

The Chalcé was the portion of the palace that fronted on the Augustaion, and we know that it consisted of several stories broken with windows. It is very possible that it is represented in the relief on the ivory casket in the cathedral at Treves, where we see a procession bearing holy relics from one place to another (fig. 140). One of the galleries of the Chalcé is represented in an illuminated manuscript of the historian, Skylitzes, now in the Library at Madrid (fig. 145). Here the other parts of the palace are also represented in a conventional manner.

The interiors of the various palace buildings were luxurious in the extreme. The decorations were fanciful and the effect produced was often decidedly theatrical. An interesting book on Court Ceremonies, written by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a dilettanti emperor of the Tenth Century, is a remarkable description of the pomp and magnificence of the imperial palace. This book, supplemented by other writings of the same author, gives us a vivid picture of the famous receptions, magnificent festivals, pageants and processions which took place in the galleries and triclinia of the Sacred Palace. There was an especial ceremony for each occasion. A prince or ambassador arriving from the Occident was conducted through long corridors gleaming with mosaics and carpeted with Oriental rugs and scattered rose-leaves, while lines of guardsmen stood at attention on either side. Passing through apartment after apartment, he finally came to the Magnaura or Chrysotriclinium, great ceremonial halls, where

he was bewildered by the peal of the organ and the voices of hidden singers entoning hymns in honor of the emperor. The hall of the Magnaura still preserved its basilican arrangement of a nave and two aisles with the throne at the further end. It had been designed by Constantine himself, but it was restored time after time with a wealth of decoration and scenic effect that had no equal in the world. The Chrysotriclinium, on the other hand, was genuinely Byzantine. It was octagonal in form with eight apses supporting the central dome and was surrounded by a gallery for the spectators. One of the recesses served as the emperor's robing-room and contained a small oratory as well; another was the treasury where the crown jewels were displayed, famous pieces of goldsmith's work, enameled crowns and precious robes commemorating the deeds of historical characters. In one of these recesses was the throne of the emperor; in front of it were two golden lions, and behind it, a plane-tree of the same metal with birds upon its spreading branches. At a certain point in the ceremony a secret mechanism caused the lions to roar, the birds to sway and sing, while the throne itself rose high in the air exalting the monarch who sat upon it veiled with clouds of incense. Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the reception of an ambassador as follows: "The ambassador, when he enters the hall, prostrates himself upon the ground in reverence to the emperor. He then arises and advances a certain distance while the organ begins to sound. It must be noted that after the ambassador has been introduced, the most distinguished members of his suite also enter, and after they have prostrated themselves, they separate and move to each side of the hall. The master of ceremonies puts the usual questions, and then the lions begin to roar and the birds on the throne and surrounding trees break forth in melodious song. The animals at the foot of the throne rise to their feet, and, at the same time, the Pronotarius delivers the gifts which the ambassador has brought in the name of his king or prince... After the ambassador has retired, the senators and patricians begin to go out, and after them, the other officers, singing the Polychronion. When all have gone, the emperor descends from his throne,

PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 146. — Pillar from St. Jean d'Acre.
St. Mark's. VENICE.

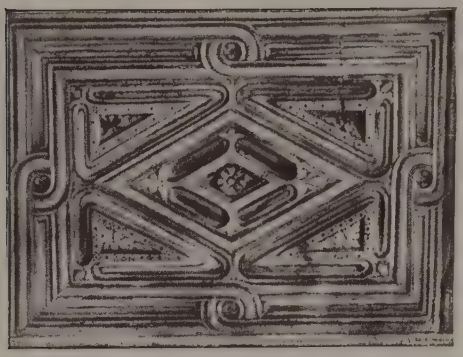

Fig. 147. — Byzantine railing. *St. Mark's.* VENICE.

takes off his crown and chlamys and puts on his gold bordered cloak, whereupon he returns without any pomp to his palace following the route by which he had come, attended by the grooms of the bed-chamber and guarded by God."

All this occurred in the great hall of the Magnaura, but the same pomp and ostentation was often displayed in the palace as well. Our author also describes the imperial bed-chamber constructed by the Emperor Basil. "Nothing can compare," he says, "with the beauty of this sleeping apartment. The pavement is of mosaic, and in the centre is a peacock set within a circle of Carian marble. From this centre-piece extend bands of green marble like spokes to a second larger circle. The remainder of the room is carpeted with eagles of mosaic so real that one might believe they were alive and flying. The lower portions of the walls are cased with tiles of colored glass which delight the eye with the variety of flowers represented upon them. A band of gold separates this decoration from the mosaics covering the upper wall-space of the apartment. Here we see seated against a gold background the figures of Basil and his wife, Eudocia. They are clad in purple and wear their crowns, while beyond them their children stand in line with books in their hands as a sign of their piety. Amid the gold of the vault gleams the sign of the cross in green marble; and here again we find the portraits of the Emperor and Empress with their children who raise their arms to God and toward the visible symbol of the cross."

Fig. 148. — Incrustation of marble and mother-of-pearl. *(Cathedral at Parenzo.)*

This description gives us an excellent idea of the character of the emperor's private apartments and the arrangement of the mosaics and rare stones in the upper walls and vaults as well as the decorations covering the lower wall-spaces. The former were sometimes ornamented with historical scenes and genre pictures. If they had survived, we would know more, perhaps, of the secular art of Byzantium which was not so closely restricted by rules and precedents as the religious paintings in the naves and apses of the churches. Constantine Porphyrogenitus

Fig. 149.— Ruins of the palace of Blachernae. CONSTANTINOPLE

also tells us of the banquet-hall constructed by the Emperor Theophilas in which were pictured the principal events of his reign. "The vault", he says, "is supported by sixteen columns. Eight are of green Thessalian marble and six of onychite; their shafts are covered with flowering vines and animals. The other two are also of onychite but are ornamented only with spiral fluting. In all of them the artist has sought by the variety of his designs to give the greatest pleasure to the beholder. The entire dome is covered with mosaics. In the centre we see the Emperor Theophilas with the generals who shared the hardships of his campaigns, while others offer him small models of the cities which they have conquered with him. High on the vaulted ceiling are depicted the military exploits of the Emperor, his Herculean efforts to secure the happiness of his subjects, his courage on the field of battle and the victories bestowed upon him by the Lord."

Though hardly a trace of the imperial palace remains in Turkish Constantinople today, we may judge of its magnificence to some extent from the fragments and columns which we find scattered among the mosques of Stamboul, the Palace of the Seraglio and even in Venice and other distant cities. Two famous pillars which were brought to Venice from St. Jean d'Acre give us some idea of the vine-covered capitals and columns described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (fig. 146). In St. Mark's there are numerous marble railings decorated with reliefs which the galleys of the Republic brought from the Orient. It is not unlikely that some of these are plunder from the imperial palace (fig. 147).

The cathedral at Parenzo in Istria still preserves incrusted wall-decorations of marble, glass and mother-of-pearl very similar to those mentioned in the descriptions of the imperial palace (fig. 148).

The Sacred Palace was almost completely abandoned in the Twelth Century by the emperors who had constructed a new residence in Constantinople called the Blachernae, and here the Byzantine court spent the last years of its existence. We know little of this palace. It is believed that we see its remains in the ruins of a handsome building which lie between the outer and inner walls of the city and bear the arms of the Palaeologus family (fig. 149). The façade at one end of a courtyard with its gaping windows displays a polychromatic design

Fig. 150.—Kasr-ibn-Wardan. *Syria*.

that is characteristic of later Byzantine architecture. It is decorated with bands of brick and stone and a mosaic of marble marquetry like the neo-Byzantine churches which we have already described.

Except for this ruin, which may not be a part of the Blachernae after all, nothing is left of the imperial palaces at Constantinople nor of the handsome residences of the wealthy Byzantine families whose possessions rivaled those of the emperors. Hardly a trace remains of the famous palaces at Trebizond which was also for a time the seat of a Byzantine court.

One important Byzantine palace was discovered in Syria by an American expedition sent out by Princeton University. It had a central cupola and halls covered by barrel-vaults. The building is called Kasr-ibn-Wardan, or the castle of the roses, by the Arabs, and it is believed to have been constructed for some member of the imperial family who had fallen into disfavor and was exiled to the Syrian deserts in the time of Justinian. Capitals and other pieces of carved stone had been transported from the capital to this distant region. The architect may have been that younger Isidorus of Miletus, the nephew of the architect of St. Sophia, for Procopius tells us that he was sent to Syria to construct a number of buildings (fig. 150).

The private homes at Constantinople must have been very similar to those of Syria and other parts of Western Asia with their apartments lying behind the court. This was not the old Graeco-Roman type of house where the rooms were grouped around a square court. There was always a portico fronting upon the street; even when there was not room for a court the portico was retained, and a second story was constructed which contained the reception halls as in the palaces of Venice. In the Madaba topographical map we see the cities of Palestine with porticos along their streets and two-storied houses like those of the miniatures in the old manuscripts.

Fig. 151. — The Pantokrator. *(Mosaic in the Baptistery.)* FLORENCE.

But even more than architecture, the national art of Byzantium was painting. Just as in classical times the marble buildings and great temples were ornamented with reliefs and other sculptures, and the Christian Greeks of the Middle Ages decorated their brick walls and domes with polychrome mosaics or, when this expensive material was lacking, with fresco-paintings. In religious compositions the themes remained the same; the painters painted the subjects which the monks supplied, and the latter also indicated the position of each personage. Fragments of treatises on painting have come down to us, and here is specified the precise manner in which the Biblical scenes from the Old Testament were to be represented. The same was true of the twelve principal church festivals, the ecclesiastical councils and the lives of the saints. For this reason the succession of Byzantine artistic types is, perhaps, the most stable of any in the history of art. Not only was this ecclesiastical supervision exercised over the composition of every scene, but even its position among the other mosaic decorations of the church was determined by precedent. In the apse the most important figure was the great Pantokrator, or All Powerful, giving his blessing and bearing in his hand a book inscribed with the text from the Gospel of St. John: "I am the light of the world" (fig. 151). Sometimes, instead of this figure we find the Virgin seated upon a throne, but with the Child in her arms as a prophetic variant of the same theme. On either side of the church are scenes from the Old and New Testament set in their chronological order to simplify the teaching of their content to the faithful assembled in the nave.

Fig. 152. — The Apostles Thomas and Philip. *(Mosaic in the Martorana.)* PALERMO.

The end wall was considered the most suitable place for the Last Judgment, and upon the side walls of the aisles were long lines of the saints of the Greek Church, the face of each being represented in the prescribed manner. It is especially interesting to note the ascetic and immobile countenances of the knightly saints, George, Demetrius, Nestor and Theodore; all are dressed in the uniform of the imperial

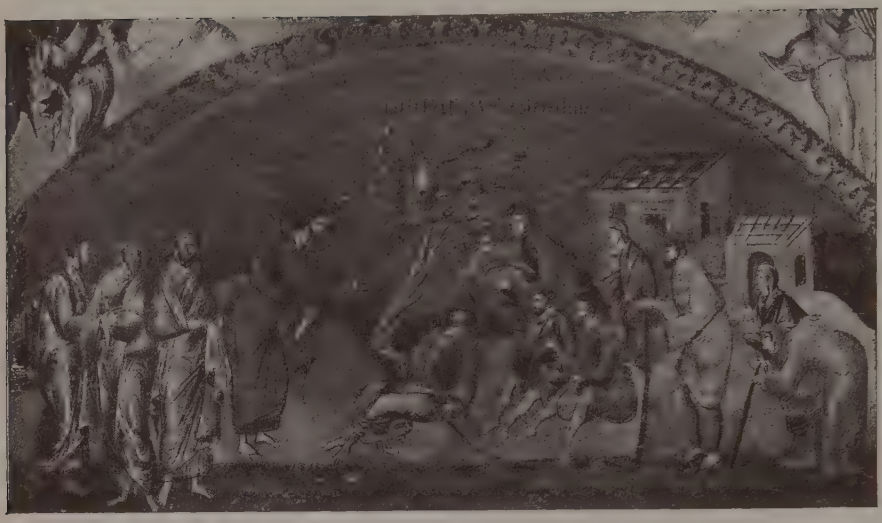

Fig. 153. — Mosaics in the Kahriyeh Djami. CONSTANTINOPLE.

militia. The Fathers and Confessors are clad in long mantles like Byzantine priests, while the apostles still wear the toga of the ancient philosophers. Among the last, Peter, Paul, Andrew and John are bearded, while others, like Thomas and Philip, are always represented without beards. In the pendentives of the cupola we usually find great six-winged seraphim and above, in the dome itself, is a band composed of a series of scenes and the hand of the Creator issuing from a cloud. This was the classical repertory of early Byzantine art in the great period of Theodosius and Justinian. The mosaics of St. Sophia are mostly covered with a coating of lime, but when the building was repaired in 1847, an opportunity was afforded to note that the figure of the Pantocrator was represented in the dome; the Virgin, in the apse, and the saints and prophets, on the walls.

Later, during the artistic revival which followed the persecutions of the Iconoclast Emperors, the lives of the saints, and especially that of the Virgin, occupied the spaces formerly destined for Biblical scenes. The touching episode of Joachim and Anna, the Presentation in the Temple, the Visitation and the Annunciation finally prevailed as the favorite themes of the Byzantine mosaic artists. To the scenes of the life of Mary taken from the New Testament, many from the Apocryphal Gospels were added; indeed, the latter furnished many a new theme to the painter.

There is an interesting series of mosaics in Constantinople which dates from this period. These are in the Kahriyeh Djami, formerly the Church of the Chora, and as they are in the vestibule they have not been whitewashed by the Turks. The church was built about the middle of the Twelfth Century, but the mosaics were put in a century later at the expense of one of the ministers of Andronicus Palaeologus named Metochita. These mosaics follow the apocryphal gospel of James scene by scene. They display a feeling for life and movement which is

not found in earlier mosaics of a religious character (fig. 153). Other works of the same period are the frescoes of the churches at Mistra and in Thessaly and, most important of all, the mosaics of the Convent of Daphni near Athens. Some of these later Byzantine artists went to Italy, where Giotto, Duccio and Cimabue were their pupils. Thus classical painting was handed down by the artists of Byzantium to the Primitives of the Renaissance who revived it in all its beauty.

Fig. 154. — The Evangelist. Miniature from a Byzantine evangelistary. SIENA.

We now come to the repertory of the secular painters. We have already described the decorations of the apartments of the imperial palace with their historical scenes, portraits and representations of flowering branches. Besides these subjects there were, no doubt, scenes from the hippodrome, a love for which the Byzantines had inherited from the ancient Romans. There were probably hunting scenes as well, like those of the Persian palaces. None of these large wall-paintings have come down to us, so we are obliged to fall back upon the literary descriptions largely; but the miniatures

Fig. 155. — Christ and the Apostles. Miniature from the Menology of Basil II. *Vatican Library.*

Fig. 156. — Martyrdom of a saint. Miniature from the Menology of Basil II. *Vatican Library.*

of the illuminated manuscripts also give us some idea of what they were. There are paintings of gardens in a manuscript copy of Nicander's treatise on poisonous plants, and we see examples of historical paintings in the illuminated history by Skylitzes in the National Library at Madrid which is illustrated with scenes of battles and civil conflicts.

Byzantine religious books abound in miniatures, and we can readily understand that the emperors and patricians, who were so prone to theological controversy, should be fond of books illustrated with figures. The Gospels, the Octateuch and the Psalter each had a fixed repertory consisting of the same subjects and executed in the same style. The Gospels, for example, were always headed by a picture of the Evangelist seated at his desk and in the act of writing, as in the early Christian evangelistary of Rossano (fig. 154).

We can easily understand that the Byzantine painters who illuminated these religious manuscripts intended for erudite persons would adhere more closely to the established types than those who decorated the walls of the churches for the edification of the multitude. This is probably why they differed from one another only in a few details. Six illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the Octateuch are known; two in the Vatican, one at Florence, one at Smyrna, one in the Library of the Seraglio at Constantinople and one in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos. In all of these the same themes occur and are arranged in the same order. About the only differences are those necessarily due to their having been executed by different artists.

Of the other books of the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms was the one most profusely illustrated. Not only were scenes from the life of David inter-

Fig. 157. — Anchorite upon a column. Miniature from the Menology of Basil II. *Vatican.*

spersed throughout, but also allegorical pictures of a mystical character representing the conflicts and the beatitude of the soul which thirsts for divine love.

Secondary only to these Books of the Bible, the most noteworthy religious manuscripts are the calendars of the festivals commemorating the saints and called Menologies. These compilations of the lives of the saints of the Byzantine Church were not arranged until after the persecutions of the Iconoclast Emperors, so they are characteristic of the second period of Byzantine art. The Menology which was the personal property of the Emperor Basil II is still preserved in the Vatican. It is a beautiful manuscript with large illustrations on nearly every page which are signed by eight different painters. Among these were two who called themselves "artists of the Blachernae," so it is evident that there was a *scriptorium* in this palace where illuminated manuscripts were turned out in large numbers. We see

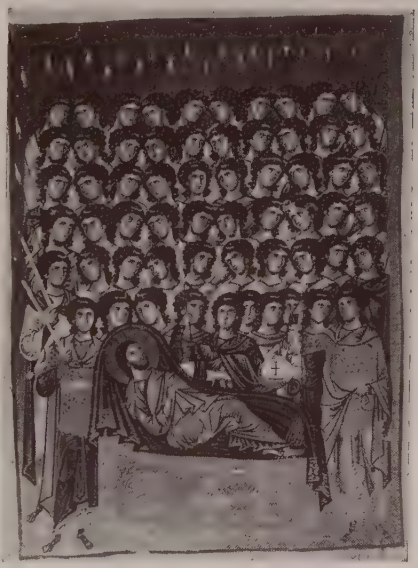

Fig. 158. — Miniature from the Homilies of the monk James. *Vatican.*

Fig. 159. — Portable icon of mosaic. VICH.

from the three miniatures in figures 155, 156 and 157 that each artist had a style all his own. There is no doubt, however, that they were required to follow an established precedent, for in the Menology of the Library of the Synod at Moscow the miniatures of the Vatican codex are reproduced in the same precise order for the festivals of the month of January.

Among the many writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, certain favorites were also illustrated with miniatures, especially the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nyssa and those of a certain monk James, written in honor of the Virgin Mary (fig. 158). The most important of the secular manuscripts that have come down to us are the Dioscorides in the Imperial Library at Vienna, formerly the property of the princess Juliana, the daughter of Galla Placidia; Oppian's Cynegetica, a book on hunting, in the Library at Venice; and the Skylitzes at Madrid.

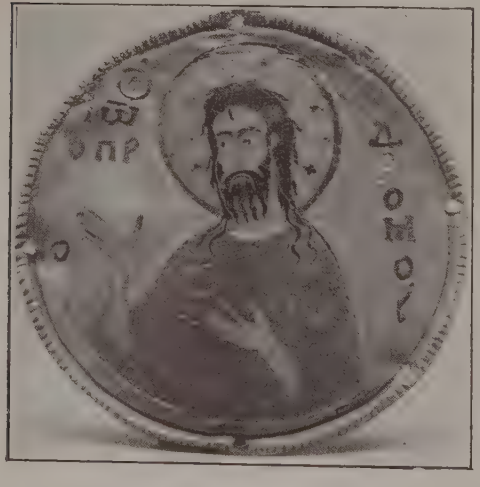

Fig. 160. — St. John. Enamel-work. *(Morgan Collection.)* NEW YORK.

Books intended for members of the imperial family were often headed with a portrait of the person to whom the copy was dedicated, a usage which has furnished us with interesting iconographies of a number of important historical personages. Sometimes the illustrations are on separate sheets like inserted plates; again they are set in the middle of a page or fill a column to illustrate

the accompanying text. All the skill and ingenuity which the Hellenistic school of Alexandria had applied to the illustration of manuscripts was now the heritage of the Byzantine artists in whose hands the art developed and progressed still further.

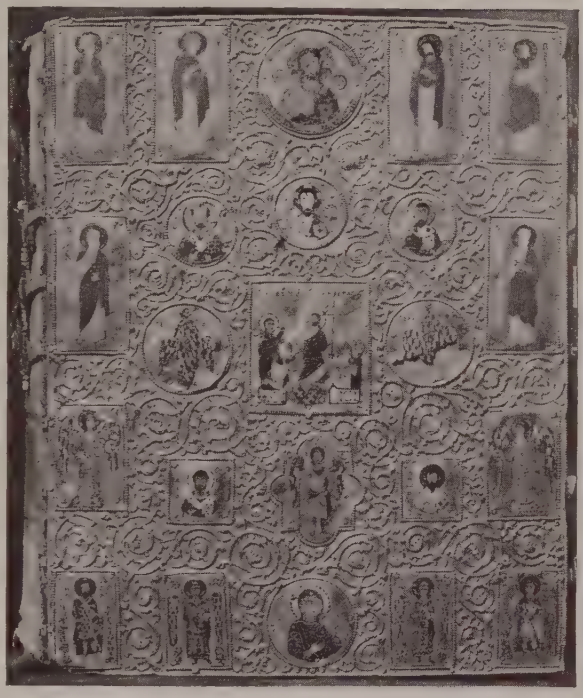

Fig. 161.—Cover in gold and enamel of the Evangelistary of Siena.

Another important branch of Byzantine art was the production of icons, or sacred pictures, painted upon boards or metal plates. Most of the icons that have come down to us date from the Twelth Century or later. At that time the artists of Byzantium were very fond of painting on wood, and we have many diptychs representing the twelve annual festivals, calendars ornamented with rows of saints and figures of the Virgin and the Saviour. The method of execution was usually the same; the board was covered with a preparation of gypsum and then gilded. Upon this background the pictures were painted in bright colors. The folds of the garments were outlined with a burin which cut in far enough to show the gold background beneath, so the lines of the draperies are of gold. The handsomer houses of Byzantium abounded in these icons, and the historians of the period of the Iconoclasts tell us that the churches were filled with sacred images to which the populace ascribed miraculous powers. Some of these Byzantine icons are still in their original setting over the altars in the Greek monasteries of Mt. Athos, but we also find in the

Fig. 162. — The Virgin. Enamel. *(Morgan Collection.)* New York.

Fig. 163. — The Philadelphi. Byzantine sculptures. *St. Mark's.* VENICE.

museums of Italy many examples of these painted tablets which were such an important vehicle for the spread of Byzantine art, for they were exported to Western Europe in great quantities.

Some icons were not painted but were executed in the most delicate mosaic imaginable. The substitution of fine mosaic-work for painting was well known to the ancient Greeks. Suetonius tells us that Caesar carried some of these mosaics with him on his campaigns. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions pictures in mosaic among the most highly prized possessions of the imperial treasury, portable icons adorned with exquisite frames of gold and precious stones. Only a dozen of these small pictures of mosaic and gold have comedown to us; one of them representing St. Nicholas was at Vich in Spain until recently, but it has been stolen, and it is not known what has become of it (fig. 159).

Fig. 164. — Archangel. Panel of a triptych. *(British Museum.)*

Enamel-work was really a branch of painting also. This art bore the same relation to painting on boards that mosaic did to fresco-painting. Byzantium learned the art of enameling from Persia, especially the technique of cloisonné. Here the figure was outlined by strips of flattened gold wire applied to a metal background. The spaces between were then filled in with enamel-paste which was fused in place and polished to an even surface, so that it resembled a fine painting on glass. Enamel was also employed to ornament gold-work, hanging crowns, altars, pulpits, reliquaries, crosses and bookbindings. It was usually applied in a finished state to the objects to be decorated and consisted of medallions which were used

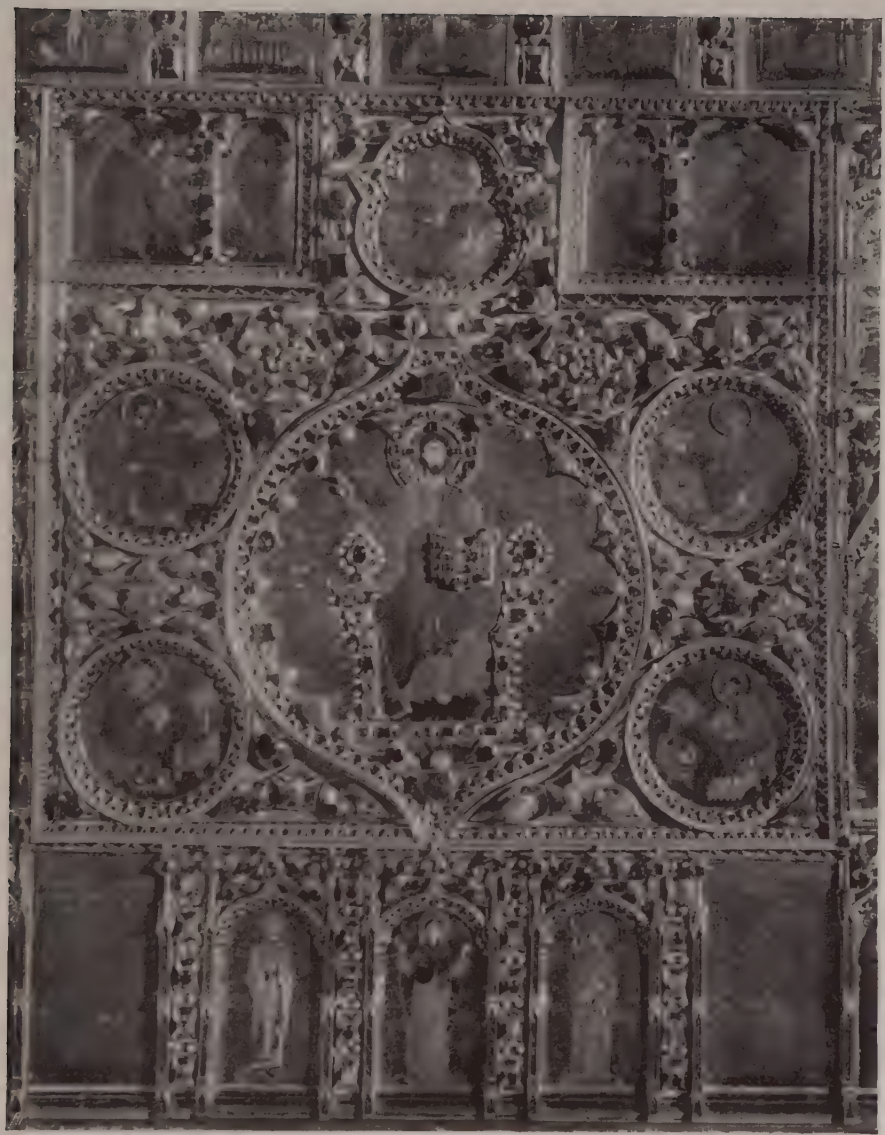

PHOTO NAYA

CENTRAL PORTION OF THE PALA D'ORO. ST. MARK'S OF VENICE.

Above we see the Book of the Law upon a throne with cherubim on either side and the figures of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. In the centre is the Pantokrator, or All Powerful, surrounded by the four Evangelists. Below is the Virgin in an attitude of prayer and on either side of her, the Empress Irene and the Doge Faliero.

Fig. 165. — Coronation of Otto II and Theophano. *(Musée de Cluny.)* PARIS.

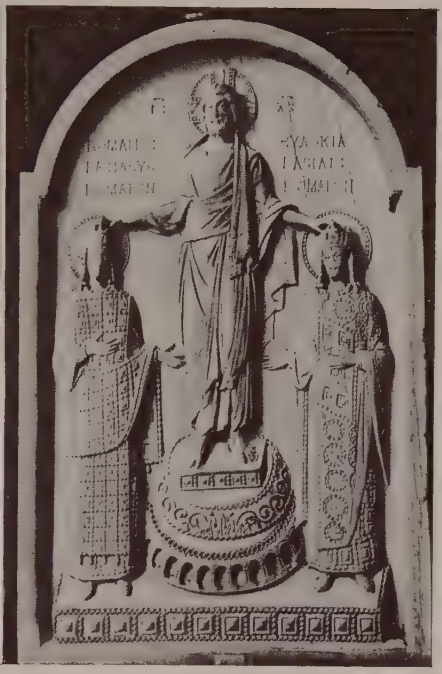

Fig. 166. — Coronation of Romanus Diogenes and Eudocia. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

for any of these pieces of goldsmith's work and not restricted exclusively to particular ones.

Byzantine enamel-work is now very scarce and is highly prized for its vivid colors. The small figures are delicately expressive in spite of the technical difficulties involved. In the centre of the binding reproduced in figure 161 we see a characteristic representation of the *Anastasis,* or Descent into Hell, which one of the twelve Byzantine festivals commemorated. It is surrounded with medallions of Christ, the Virgin and a number of saints and angels. Some very beautiful medallions, or plaques, have come down to us, torn from the works of art which they were intended to adorn (figs. 160 and 162).

One of the finest pieces of Byzantine enamel-work existing is still in its place in St. Mark's Cathedral at Venice. This is the famous Pala d'Oro on the high altar. (Plate X.) At first it was the frontal of an altar and tradition has it that it was taken to Constantinople by Doge Orseolo in 976, but was brought back in 1105 by Doge Faliero by whom it was altered and made part of the present high altar. Although it is evident from the Gothic form of the arches that the artists who originally executed this work were Western Europeans, nevertheless the enamel medallions are all Byzantine; some of them were part of the original frontal, and others were made in Constantinople when the piece was restored.

We now come to Byzantine sculpture. We can readily understand that a certain prejudice against the reproduction of the human figure, which has at

Fig. 167.—Diptych of the Consul Probus. *(Museum of Brescia.)*

all times existed in the Orient, also impeded the development of sculpture in the Byzantine Empire. With the exception of the carved capitals and friezes, this branch of art played but an insignificant part in the decoration of buildings, On one corner of the outer walls of St. Mark's at Venice, we see two reliefs representing warriors embracing one another which are unquestionably of Oriental workmanship (fig. 163).

We know that many statues had been brought from the most celebrated ancient temples to adorn the squares and buildings of the new capital at Constantinople. It is also clear that there were numerous statues of Byzantine emperors and military leaders in the various public places, as well as sculptures in the full round in the churches. Constantine set up in the Forum a statue of the Good Shepherd, and there was a figure of Christ in the Chalcé near the entrance to the imperial palace.

Fig. 168.— Panel of the diptych of Magnus. *(Bibl. Nationale.)* PARIS.

All these monumental sculptures have disappeared; only one large statue remains, possibly that of the Emperor Heraclius, which is now in the little town of Barletta in Southern Italy. A Venetian galley took it away from Constantinople after the sack of the city in 1204. The ship was wrecked near Barletta and the bronze colossus lay abandoned on the beach until it was set up in one of the streets of the city in 1481. (Plate XI.)

Our knowledge of Byzantine sculpture is largely derived from the smaller figures of artists who worked in ivory and who carved the Byzantine plaques, diptychs and caskets now in the museums and cathedral treasuries of Western Europe. Perhaps the most beautiful existing specimen of Byzantine ivory-work is the panel from a triptych representing the Archangel Michael,

now in the British Museum (fig. 164). It is most imposing; the angelic hierarch descends a stairway from a columned portico like the entrance to a sanctuary of the Greek Church. In one hand he bears a spear, and in the other, a globe surmounted by a cross, as though he were transmitting his dominion to the emperor, whose figure probably occupied one of the missing panels of the triptych. The central panel probably represented the coronation of an emperor and empress, a favorite subject with the artists of Byzantium. Upon a small pedestal in the centre would be the Saviour placing a crown on the head of each of the royal pair, thus indicating that their imperial rank was conferred by Christ. The most beautiful of these ivory representations of coronations is that of Romanus Diogenes and Eudocia, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 166). We see in figure 165 another example of this type which was probably executed in the West. It represents the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto II, who married the Byzantine princess, Theophano. The work is ruder, but the subject is represented in the same manner. Some of the manuscripts of the emperors are also headed by the figures of the monarch and his wife who are being crowned by Christ.

Fig. 169. — Marble relief.
(Church of the Mater Domini.) VENICE.

Other ivories were, no doubt, gifts to consuls and other high officials of the State who were often presented by the emperor with an ivory diptych bearing his effigy. The consul would later donate this carved plaque to a member of his suite or to some church in order that its priests might be ever mindful of the emperor in their prayers. No less than forty-nine of these diptychs or fragments of them have come down to us and are now scattered in various museums or church treasuries. Sometimes the monarch stands in a triumphant attitude bearing the imperial standard as in the diptych of Probus which is still preserved intact in Brescia (figure 167). Again we see him seated, handkerchief in hand, directing the games of the circus from the tribunal. In the diptych of the Consul

Fig. 170. — Ivory carving.
(Dutuit Collect. Petit Palais.) PARIS.

PHOTO GIRAUDON

Fig. 171. — Harbaville triptych. *(Louvre.)*

Magnus, now in the Bibliotèque Nationale at Paris, the emperor sits between two allegorical figures representing Rome and Constantinople (fig. 168). In Spain there is only a consular diptych in the cathedral of Oviedo with a medallion in the centre of each panel.

Other ivory reliefs are the smaller icons which represent the Virgin Mary, the favorite patroness of both the populace and nobility of the Byzantine Empire. She is always represented either standing with raised hands in an attitude of prayer, sometimes with a medallion of her Divine Son upon her breast, or else seated upon an ivory throne with the Child in her arms (figs. 169 and 170).

In one of the most striking of these Byzantine reliefs we see the Virgin interceding with Jesus. This is the so-called *Deesis*. Here the Saviour in the centre listens to the entreaties of Mary and John who stand on either side in a supplicating attitude. The same theme is represented in the upper compartment of the Harbaville triptych (fig. 171), in the central panel of the triptych of the Casanate Library at Rome (fig. 172) and in the Vich ivory, now in the Leroy Collection (fig. 173). In these three ivory carvings we see that the same theme has been everywhere interpreted with very little variation. In the *Deesis* of the Harbaville triptych Christ is seated upon an ivory cathedra, while the other two figures are standing, but in all three compositions he holds a book in his left hand, and the other is raised in a gesture of benediction. Mary and John

Colossal bronze statue of the Emperor Heraclius from Constantinople.
BARLETTA. *Southern Italy.*

extend their arms as though interceding for their chosen people; John is always on the right of the Saviour and Mary on the left; the Lord listens to them in an attitude of benediction.

The figures of the apostles in the lower zone of the central panel of the Harbaville triptych are precisely the same as those of the relief in the Casanate Library. In both we see Peter in the centre, John and James on his right and Paul and Andrew on his left. In the lateral panels are the four knightly saints and the four Confessors, just as we find them in the mosaics. However often repeated, the beautiful and lofty repertory of Byzantine sacred art could hardly fall into vulgarity. The *Deesis* was also represented in paintings and mosaics. One variant often introduced was the representation of Christ upon the cross, but with open eyes and listening to the petitions of Mary and John, thus preserving the essential purpose of the composition. The same subject is represented on the Evangelistary of the cathedral at Gerona which is reproduced as an example of goldsmith's work (fig. 181). We also see ivory or steatite reliefs of the themes of the twelve annual festivals set into compartments like wooden panels. They are always arranged in the same order. Above is the Annunciation, Nativity and Presentation; next, the Baptism in the Jordan, the Transfiguration and the raising of Lazarus; then comes the entry of Jesus, into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, or Descent into Hell; last of all are the Ascension, Pentecost and Death of Mary. The largest steatite carving representing the twelve annual festivals is still to be seen in the treasury of the cathedral at Toledo, Spain. Like the icons, these plates were widely circulated throughout the West, and the Byzantine manner of representing these festivals was imitated by the Italian painters; indeed, we see signs of this influence in Fifteenth Century Spanish painting. In the Romanesque paintings on boards of Catalonia, representing the Assumption, we see her borne to heaven by two angels, but later on the Byzantine model was followed introducing the figures of Jesus, two apostles and two old men reading, the doctors of the old law. As in Byzantine art, Jesus has descended from heaven in order to take the soul of his Mother; the Jewish priests are somewhat different, but the idea is the same;

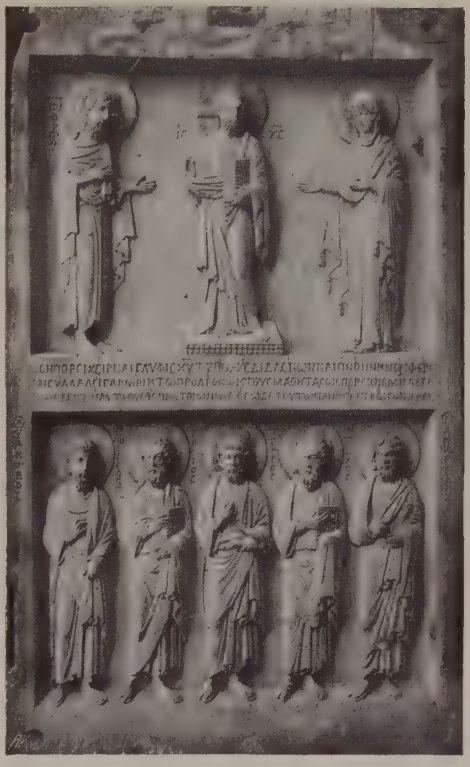

Fig. 172. — Central panel of a triptych. *(Casanate Library.)* Rome.

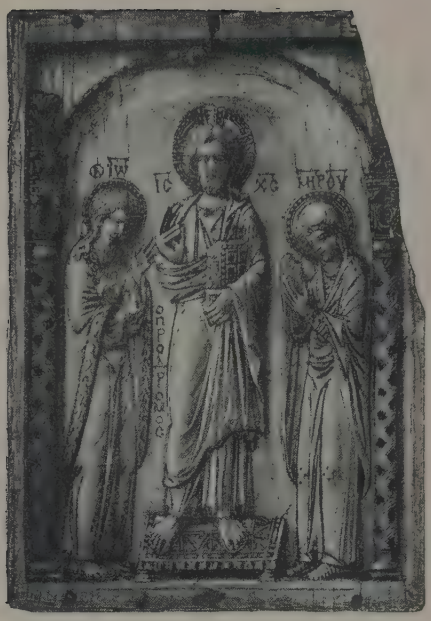

Fig. 173. — Central panel of a triptych from Vich. *(Leroy Collection.)*

with the books of the prophecies in their hands, they appear to be ignorant of their fulfilment.

Also in their secular works the Byzantine sculptors continued to adhere rather strictly to a limited repertory of subjects. At least fifty caskets are wel known which are decorated with paneled reliefs and bordered with rosettes (fig. 174). The same motives are repeated at length. Figures of satyrs, centaurs, nymphs and warriors still recall the classical traditions, but the style of these sculptures is always the same. The most beautiful of these small chests is the one in the South Kensington Museum which came from the cathedral at Veroli. Here we see a charming little relief representing the triumph of Bacchus. None of these caskets bear Greek inscriptions and their Byzantine origin has sometimes been doubted, but it is sufficient to note that many of them are ornamented with an imitation of the Hercules of Lysippus. This bronze statue stood in Constantinople until the Thirteenth Century and was quite unknown in Western Europe during the Romanesque period.

The most important ivory carving that has come to us from the Byzantine Empire is the cathedra, or bishop's throne, of Maximian of Ravenna and it is still almost in a perfect state of preservation. (Plate XII.) This is, beyond question, a marvelous piece of Byzantine work dating from the Sixth Century, the period of Maximian's episcopate. Although there is no doubt regarding the age of this handsome ivory throne, the theory is now advanced that it was not brought to Ravenna until much later, and that it is the cathedra mentioned in old texts as a gift from Doge Pietro Orseolo to Otto III at the time the latter was at Ravenna. The people of the city so admired this beautiful work of art and were so desirous of possessing it that the Emperor was per-

Fig. 174. — Small Byzantine chest. *(Capella Palatina.)* PALERMO.

PHOTO ALINARI

Ivory cathedra, or bishop's throne, called the Chair of Maximian. RAVENNA.

suaded to leave it in the cathedral there. It is constructed of a number of ivory pieces finely joined and delicately carved. It is decorated with leaves, small birds and stags, and its panels contain scenes from the Gospels carved in relief. Although the history of this famous chair is, so far as we know, connected only with events in the West, there are a number of features which betray its Eastern origin. No doubt it was made either in Syria or in Egypt, for we see in the representation of the baptism in the Jordan topographical details with which the Latin Occident was entirely unfamiliar.

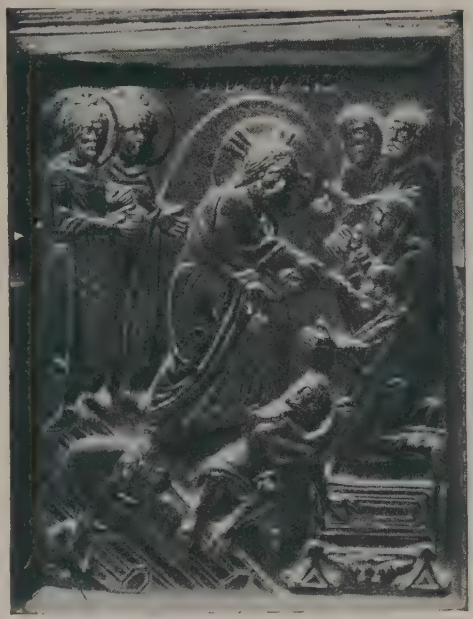

Fig. 175. — The Anastasis. Steatite relief. *Ciudad Real.* SPAIN.

To show how uniform was the Byzantine type in its general lines, we reproduce two works widely separated in time and executed in different materials. One is a steatite plate which was fastened to a paxboard, or osculatorium, and is now in Ciudad Real, Spain. The other is a painting upon parchment in the Vatican Library. Both represent the Anastasis, or Descent of Christ into Hell (figs. 175 and 176). Here we see Jesus surrounded by an aureola, advancing triumphant from right to left over the broken gates of Hell. Satan lies either prostrate beneath the gates or grasps at the robes of the patriarchs who extend their arms toward the Saviour. A variant of this scene is the introduction of John the Baptist who, according to an Eastern tradition, preceded Jesus in his descent into Limbo. In these smaller compositions the artists of Byzantium produced the most exquisite work imaginable. Byzantine sculpture and painting may be said to have come down to us chiefly in the form of miniature productions.

Fig. 176. — The Anastasis. Painting on parchment. *(Vatican Library.)*

There are a number of important examples of Byzantine metal-work. The shops of Constantinople received many orders from the Occident for bronze gates and doors, for Western Europe had by this time lost the secret of casting bronze. The artisans of Byzantium were also skilful at repoussé work, and we

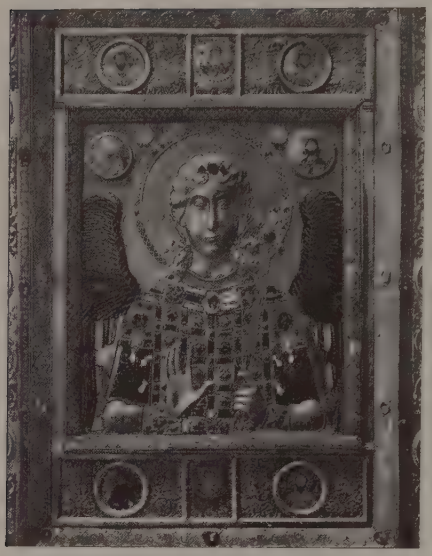

Fig. 177.—Icon in relief.
(Treasury of St. Mark's.) VENICE.

have a very respectable series of clypei, or bronze shields, ornamented with raised figures. Some of these were discovered in the most distant provinces of the Empire. One was found in Extremadura, Spain, and is now in the Academia de la Historia at Madrid. Here we see Theodosius seated on a throne beneath an arch and on either side are his sons and generals. At his feet reclines an allegorical figure representing Hispania, a loyal and happy province. (Plate XIII.) Silver disks ornamented with reliefs have been found on the steppes of Sarmatia and in those classical lands of Byzantine art, Western Asia, Cyprus and Egypt (figs. 178 and 192).

Chalices, patens and other goldsmith's work, ornamented with enamels and figures in repoussé, are to be seen in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice (fig. 177). Many crosses and covers of evangelistaries, which were either made in Byzantium or are copies of Byzantine work, are found in various parts of Western Europe. Not only in Italy, but in Germany and France as well, the cathedral treasuries contain numerous handsome examples of Byzantine art. In Spain, only in the Northeast, in Cata-

Fig. 178.—Plates from the treasure of Cyprus. David's combat with Goliath.
David brought before Saul. *(Morgan Collection.)* NEW YORK.

Clypeus of Theodosius representing the Emperor and his sons, Arcadius and Honorius.
(Real Academia de la Historia.) MADRID.

lonia, there are many Byzantine objects. Besides the pieces from Vich already mentioned, there was another ivory carving in Besalú which disappeared a few years ago. There is still a small silver cross at Bagá with Greek inscriptions (fig. 179). At Gerona there is the cover of an evangelistary representing the *Deesis* and the Glorification of the Virgin. The faces of these figures are plainly Byzantine in character, although the work may have been executed in the Occident (fig. 181). Finally we have the reliquary crosses of San Cucufate del Vallés representing the Virgin in an attitude of prayer (fig. 180). The survival of so many Byzantine objects in a corner of Spain, suggests their abundance in the Middle Ages. Another art in which the Byzantines excelled was the weaving of textiles. These were most highly esteemed throughout Europe during all the Middle Ages. The designs, sometimes copied from Sassanian fabrics, are composed of rich combinations of lions, birds and huntsmen interspersed with flowers and branches. The figures are usually enclosed within large circles and the back-ground is of cloth of gold and silver. Constantinople, the great mediaeval capital, exported articles of luxury to every

Fig. 179. — Byzantine cross. *Bagá*. SPAIN.

Fig. 180. — Crosses as a reliquary. SAN CUCUFATE DEL VALLÉS.

Fig. 181. — Covers of an evangelistary. *(Cathedral at Gerona.)*

Fig. 182. — Byzantine silk fabric. *(Vatican.)*

part of Western Europe. Here was the great market which supplied the galleys of Venice and Genoa with jewels, fabrics and ivory carvings for the nations of the West which had almost lapsed into barbarism.

The Crusaders, too, brought back great quantities of artistic objects and textiles from the Orient. Joinville's chronicle tells us how the Count of Brienne captured a caravan laden with much "cloth of gold and silk, all of which he seized." Ramon Muntaner returned from Constantinople bringing with him a rich store of precious objects and relics of which the Venetians robbed him. Byzantium first learned the art of making handsome pattern textiles from Egypt. The earliest Byzantine fabrics were ornamented with designs borrowed from the textiles of the Copts, examples of which we reproduced in a previous chapter. Soon, however, the artisans of Constantinople turned to the Persians who had a monopoly of the trade in silk which they brought from Ceylon to the ports of the Persian Gulf. From here it was transported by caravan to Syria and Asia Minor. But this dependence upon Persia for their material soon became irksome and the emperors finally managed to procure the larvae of the silk-worm and introduced the manufacture of silk into their own territory.

Fig. 183. — Byzantine fabric ornamented with figures of elephants. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Nevertheless, Byzantine fabrics always preserved certain themes, such as hunting scenes and the strangling of lions and other wild animals, which remind us of the Persian designs. On the famous fabric found in the tomb of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle we see the traditional circles, elephants and conventionalized small trees which recall the Tree of Life as represented in the art of Mesopotamia (fig. 183).

Sometimes these intersecting circles contain scenes, both religious and secular. This is true of the beautiful fabrics seen among the relics of the Sancta Sanctorum, where we find representations of the Nativity and

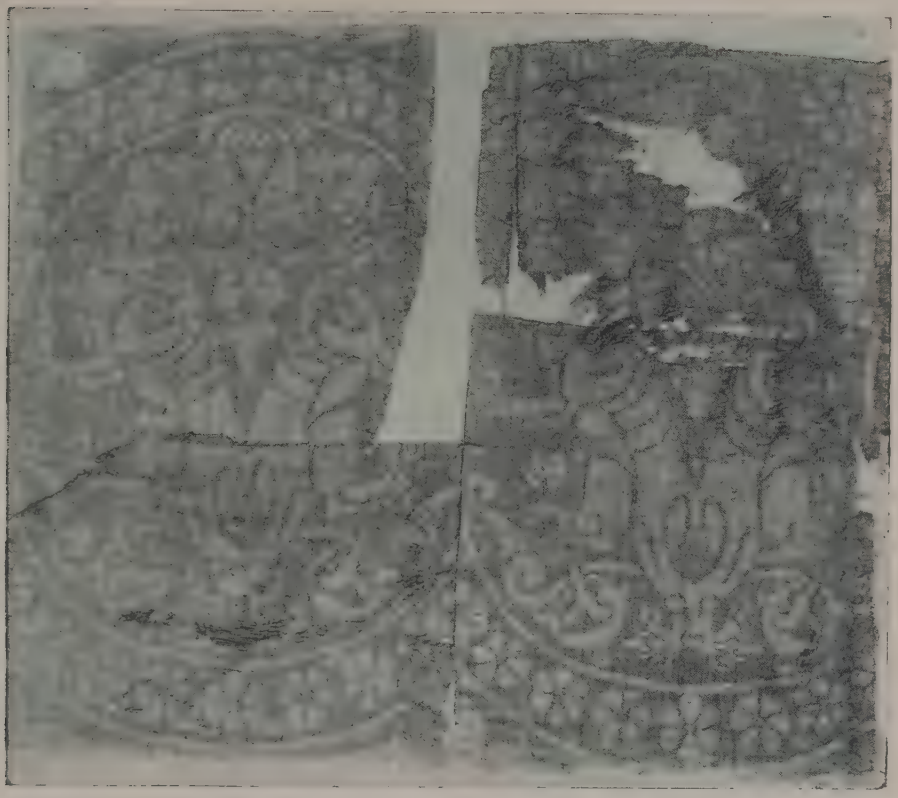

Fig. 184. — Byzantine fabric. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

the Annunciation (figs. 189 and 190). But the fabrics preserved in Western Europe can give us only a faint conception of what the finest textiles of Constantinople must have been, for the Imperial Government prohibited the exportation of the best specimens of this art. Luitprand, a German ambassador who went to Constantinople on an official mission in the Tenth Century, tells us how the imperial customs officials confiscated some fabrics which he had purchased there and packed in his baggage when he left. Those textiles

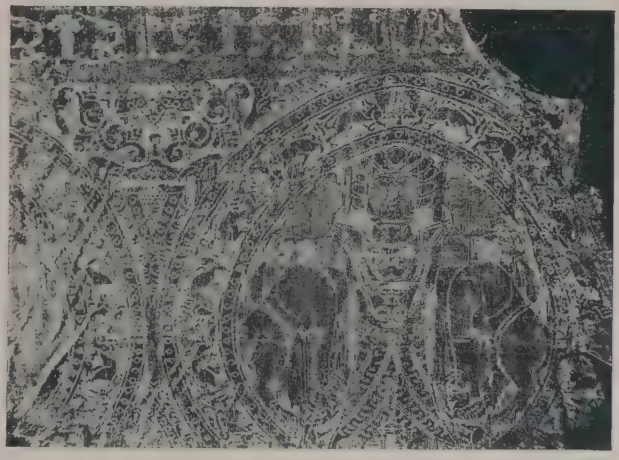

Fig. 185. — Sassanian fabric. *(Museum of Vich.)*

Fig. 186. — An emperor between two allegorical figures. Byzantine fabric.
(Treasury of the cathedral at Bamberg.)

which it was permitted to export were marked and lead seals were affixed by the customs.

Sometimes, of course, the emperors presented specimens of their finest weaves to the monarchs of Western Europe. This would explain the presence in the tomb of Bishop Gunther in the cathedral at Bamberg of an embroidered robe which was evidently intended originally for some personage of the imperial court. An emperor on horseback bears a standard, and the crown upon his head is surrounded by a nimbus. A female figure on either side offers gifts; one presents a crown, and the other, a tiara. They may be Europe and Asia personified, making their offerings in token of their loyalty (figs. 186 and 187). Although the centre of the piece is entirely destroyed, the two female figures are among the most beautiful executed in the textile art of any land or period. Many of these Oriental fabrics are ornamented with two fanciful animals, lions

Fig. 187. — Restoration of the fabric found in the treasure of Bamberg.

or griffins, facing one another. This was a traditional decorative theme in the Orient from the earliest days of Babylonian art. The Persians under the Sassanian dynasty continued to employ this motive, and we find it copied in the fabrics of Syria, Cyprus and Byzantium (fig. 184). It was taken up by the Arabs of the Orient, and it is often difficult to determine whether a fabric is of Arab or Byzantine origin. Owing to the close relations maintained between the Arabs of Spain and those of Syria and Mesopotamia, a large number of Syrian textiles are to be found in this country as well. On the fabric reproduced in figure 185, where we see a giant strangling two tigers, there is a legend in Cufic characters. It was discovered in the tomb of San Bernardo Calvó, Bishop of Vich, who accompanied King James I of Aragon at the conquest of Valencia. It is not unlikely that this fabric was part of the spoils apportioned to the Catalonian prelate when the city was captured; but it is unquestionably of Oriental workmanship and dates from a very early period.

Byzantium must have had workshops where the finest embroideries were

Fig. 188. — Byzantine fabric.
(Vatican Library.)

Fig. 189. — The Nativity. Byzantine fabric.
(Sancta Sanctorum. Vatican.)

manufactured, for we see in the mosaics persons of rank dressed in beautifully embroidered garments. In the handsome mosaic of San Vitale at Ravenna, where the Empress Theodora is accompanied by the ladies of her court, the wife of

Fig. 190. — The Annunciation. Treasure of the *Sancta Sactorum. Vatican.*

Fig. 191.—Dalmatica, or vestment, supposed to have belonged to Charlemagne.

Justinian wears a robe on which the adoration of the Magi is embroidered (figure 138). Another magnificent fabric is the famous Dalmatica, supposed to have once belonged to Charlemagne, which is now in the treasury of St. Peter at Rome. Tradition has it that it was presented to the Pope by the Frank Emperor on the occasion of his coronation (fig. 191), but, as a matter of fact, it is of much later workmanship and dates from the period following the repression of the Iconoclasts. Its style recalls the miniatures of the homilies of the monk James and the frescoes of Mistra, and it is surely a Twelfth Century piece.

An old description of St. Sophia by Paul le Silenciaire dwells on the fact that the draperies of the altar were decorated with woven patterns, "not produced with the aid of the needle introduced laboriously by hands but with the bobbin that constantly varies the size and color of the threads furnished by the barbarian worm."

The weavers of Constantinople did more than merely copy the themes handed down from Greece and Rome. They were creative artists who glorified their own faith and portrayed the splendor of the Church Triumphant.

Summary. — There was a brilliant renaissance of Byzantine art during the period succeeding that of the Iconoclast Emperors. To this epoch belong the churches with raised cupolas in which the domes were set upon drums as in the Kahriyeh Djami at Constantinople and the churches of Athens. This renaissance extended to painting as well. The traditional Biblical themes of the mosaics and frescoes were succeeded by subjects taken from the lives of the Virgin and the saints. Byzantine sculptures in the full round are almost entirely lacking, but we see from the reliefs and ivory carvings that the sculptors reproduced with little variation the same well established religious types. The enamels, portable icons and reliquaries scattered among the museums and cathedrals today give us some idea of the rich decorations produced by the goldsmiths of Byzantium who were the unrivaled masters of their art. Western Europe could produce nothing approaching their work. The earlier pattern fabrics were ornamented with Coptic and Persian designs, but later, Byzantium produced fine silk textiles in a style all her own, and ceased to depend upon the Orient.

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Manuals. — Diehl, Dalton, Michel, Wulff, see above, p. 18.

Fig. 192. — Silver paten from Antioch. *(Demotte Collection.)*

Fig. 193. — Byzantine fortress. TIMGAD.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPREAD OF BYZANTINE ART — BYZANTINE MONUMENTS IN NORTH AFRICA AND SPAIN. — ST. MARK'S AT VENICE. — BYZANTINE CHURCHES IN SICILY. THE MONASTERIES OF MT. ATHOS. — BYZANTINE ART IN RUSSIA.

ONE of the most positive achievements of the art and civilization of Byzantium was the spread of this culture toward Western and Northern Europe, along the coast of the Mediterranean and in the Balkan Peninsula and Russia.

Historical prejudices of long standing caused the rulers of the Eastern Empire to neglect the Asiatic provinces from which they drew so much of their strength and cast longing eyes upon the Mediterranean lands which had been the original nucleus of the Roman Empire. To reestablish the old frontiers in the West was ever the fatal ambition of Theodosius and Justinian, who wasted their resources fighting the barbarians in Italy, Spain and Northern Africa. But it is owing to the military occupation of these lands that we still find the remains of the structures erected by the Byzantine governors together with a thousand other traces of this new Hellenization effected by the legions of the Christian emperors of Constantinople. The power of the Empire did not prevail in this struggle with the barbarians, although Byzantium, defeated time after time, ever renewed the offensive; but civilization and art could not but profit from the prolonged conflict between the imperial armies and the peoples who were later to become the Latin nations of Western Europe. The Byzantine occupation of Southern Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean coasts of Spain and Mauritania was more permanent than elsewhere. In certain districts of Southern Italy the people still speak a dialect that is almost Greek, and the rural churches of the country about Otranto preserve in their architecture the system inaugurated by the churches of Byzantium. In Sicily where the process of Hellenization was more complete, there remained a sufficiently large nucleus of the Greek popu-

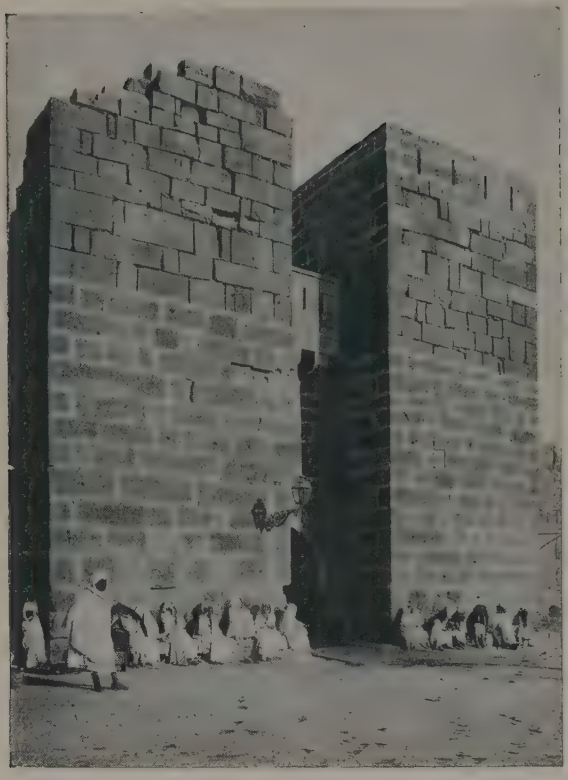

Fig. 194. — Solomon's Gate. *Tebessa.* ALGERIA.

lation to form a singular semi-Byzantine kingdom under a Norman dynasty of rulers. A more detailed study will be made of the magnificent structures of this Norman kingdom in Sicily.

In Africa the famous expedition of Belisarius and his lieutenant, Solomon, against the barbarians in Justinian's reign reconquered for the last time the colonies so highly esteemed by the Romans. The ruins of the old cities were restored under the protection of the Byzantine fortresses in which the Emperor kept permanent garrisons (figures 193 and 194). We still find large numbers of these forts in Algeria and Tunis, and they are, perhaps, the best material we have for the study of Byzantine military architecture. Indeed, they are plastic illustrations of the treatises on the science of fortification which have come down to us from the Eastern Empire. The rampart usually consisted of a double wall, the outer one composed of squared blocks and the inner wall of partly hewn stones. The space between was filled with concrete. This wall was sufficiently thick and high to resist the assaults of military engines with which the Byzantine generals were well acquainted. Along the top ran a passageway which widened in places over buttresses which were supported by lines of arches. Extending all the way around the fortress, it assured communication with the towers which jutted out to protect the gateways as well as at intervals all along the wall. We still find these towers in abundance. They are both square and round, are two or three stories high, and it is evident that they were used as habitations. Within the rectangular enclosure are the remains of light buildings only. It was probably not only the site of a military camp, but also served as a place of refuge for the neighboring colonists in time of danger. No sooner had the Vandals been driven out than the people of Northern Africa were threatened by a new peril consisting of Arab and Berber marauders, and it was principally in defence against these raiders that the Byzantines covered the province with fortresses. The cities, too, were well defended by strong ramparts and towers, and as a last refuge there was

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Fig. 195. — Cathedral at Parenzo. ISTRIA.

usually a great isolated tower with thick walls where the garrison could hold out while awaiting reinforcements.

Besides the fortresses and the cemeteries dating from the Byzantine occupation, are many small buildings of a religious character in Northern Africa. These are surely the Greek churches erected by the imperial troops. Their form is typical, with a simple ground-plan and an apse at one end. Byzantine inscriptions are frequently found in their mosaic pavements, and the walls were probably covered with Greek decorative paintings. In shape and structure they are small basilicas, for the legionaries would hardly have at their disposal the skilled workmen and material required for the construction of domes.

For the paintings and mosaics, one or two artists from Constantinople would be sufficient, and the decorations would completely change the aspect of the church. In Spain there are buildings at Elche and Jativa and in the Balearic isles which date from this period. They are all in ruins, but we can still distinguish the mosaics of the floors and the lines of the subsidiary buildings connected with the church which were grouped around it. But these structures were hardly important enough to account for the artistic influences which were the result of the Byzantine occupation of the West during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. We must look rather to the numerous articles of luxury, such as fabrics, ivories, arms and jewels, which were brought by the monks that followed the legionaries, to explain the early penetration of Oriental art into the Latin countries of Western Europe.

A second influx of Byzantine culture occurred later on, when the fanaticism of the Iconoclast Emperors drove many artists into exile in Southern Italy, and from here their influence spread into other parts of the West. In our study

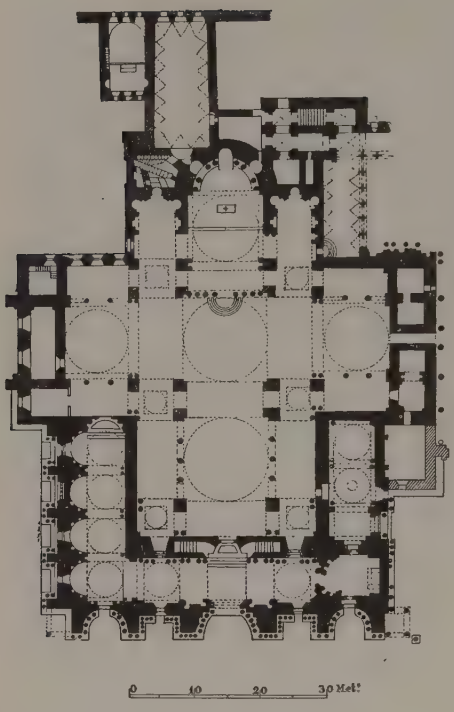


Fig. 196. — Plan of St. Mark's. VENICE.

of the Romanesque art of Europe we shall be constantly making comparisons of its forms with the styles of Byzantium, but even in this second stage many of its forms were not imported directly from Constantinople, but were received rather through the agency of the Venetians and Genoese who contributed so much toward the spread of Oriental culture in Europe.

The Adriatic has at all times been almost an Oriental sea. The oldest example of Byzantine architecture in the neighborhood of Venice is the cathedral at Parenzo in Istria. It still preserves its basilican form and was constructed in the time of Bishop Euphrasius about the middle of the Sixth Century. Above the capitals of the columns are the trapezoidal blocks with which we are familiar, and the arches are ornamented with interesting stucco decorations which date from the construction of the building and are very similar to those of the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome (fig. 195). In the vault of the apse are mosaic represemtations of the Virgin and other saints, and below is the incrustation of marbles and other stones reproduced in part in a previous chapter (fig. 148).

On the island of Torcello not far from Venice another later church also preserves its splendid Byzantine mosaics. It was built by Bishop Altinus in 641, but the decorations evidently date from the time when the church was restored in the Eleventh Century. Though the inscriptions and legends are in Latin, the figures of the saints and other mosaics are plainly Byzantine; so we see that the art of the East maintained its prestige in the neighborhood of Venice during the centuries preceding the erection of St. Mark's.

But it is in Venice itself that we find the most perfectly preserved monument of Byzantine art that has come down to us, the famous metropolitan church of St. Mark. The Republic long maintained close relations with Constantinople. The Venetians had a quarter of their own in the capital, where great warehouses and stores of merchandise supplied their ships. In connection with their extensive commercial enterprises they had factories in many a city of Western Asia; indeed some of these places actually became possessions of the merchant-princes of Venice. Venetian ships brought the latest Byzantine fashions to Western Europe, and it was natural that this maritime state, so familiar with the splendor of the East, should copy the magnificent styles of Byzantium

Fig. 197. — Corner of the façade of St. Mark's showing fragments of Byzantine carvings. VENICE.

in their own buildings rather than those of the rude nations of the West who could only imitate the old Roman structures falling to ruin about them.

Venice sent to the East for her first architects, and the original church of St. Mark was begun in the Ninth Century. It was destroyed by fire during the insurrection of 916 and rebuilt in the next two years, although somewhat altered both in size and arrangement. Only a portion of the walls remain of this second church which was constructed under the Doge Orseolo. It is believed to have been built of a variety of materials and ornamented with alternate bands of brick and stone like the Byzantine buildings of the period following the persecutions of the Iconoclast Emperors. Like the rest of the church, these walls are now covered with marbles of various colors, but a careful investigation of the floor and walls has furnished data from which it is possible to obtain some idea of the character of the older church. Its plan was of the usual basilican type with a nave and two aisles separated by two rows of twelve columns each. In appearance and size the first church must have greatly resembled the cathedral at Parenzo or possibly the church at Torcello on an island nearby in the lagoons.

In the time of the Doge Domenico Contarini in 1063 both the plan and appearance of St. Mark's were greatly altered. The arms of the transepts were added, and the vestibule was carried forward on either side until it met the transepts. The columns were moved, and since the church was to be covered with five domes, the highest in the centre, massive piers were constructed to

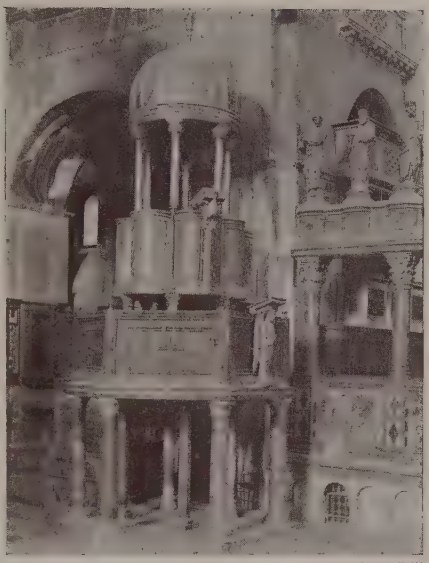
Fig. 198.—Interior of the basilica of St. Mark. VENICE.

support the weight of the central cupola. The columns were used to support the galleries which give this church a character all its own.

Thirty years were required before the church was ready to receive its decorations. Domenico Selvo, who was then Doge, issued directions to all the consuls, ambassadors, merchants, vessel-owners and wealthy citizens living in the East to zealously collect the precious materials needed for the decoration of the new church. The plan was well received, and all vied with one another in bringing treasures, shafts of columns from ancient temples, capitals from Byzantium and slabs of handsome stone and precious marble in great quantities for the embellishment of St. Mark's (fig. 197).

St. Mark's and St. Sophia are equally rich and splendid. Although they differ from one another in some respects, the spirit animating the two churches is the same. St. Mark's, perhaps, gives us the better idea of the pomp and ostentation of Byzantium in the old days. The Venetian church is still a place of worship where an imposing ritual is carried on and its mosaics are intact, while St. Sophia has become a Turkish mosque and its decorations are badly defaced.

Compared to St. Sophia St. Mark's is a small church, but its well balanced



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Figs. 199 and 200. — Two interesting views of the interior of St. Mark's. The altar of the crucifix and the great pulpit.

proportions, skilful arrangement and certain ingenious perspective effects cause it to appear larger than it really is. For example, the three domes covering the transepts and chancel are smaller than the two over the nave, making them seem to be further away and giving the entire building a more monumental effect. The interior of the church is sumptuous beyond description; in the far end the chancel gleams with its columns of rare stones; pulpits on either side of the altar are carved from the most precious marble; and antique lamps hang from the ceiling. In the most holy place is the High Altar radiant with gold and enamel, the sacred palladium of the great maritime republic (figs. 198, 199 and 200). The interior is lighted entirely from above; the springers of the five domes are pierced with small windows through which the rays of the sun filter in to be reflected from the magnificent mosaics inside. The mosaic decorations of the interior were begun by Byzantine artists who brought to Venice the traditional themes taken from the Old Testament, representations of the annual festivals of the church, the life of the Virgin and symbolic scenes, such as the sacrifice of Abraham, the story of Joseph and the comunion at Emmaus (fig. 201).

We learn from an old chronicle that they sent to Constantinople for artists to execute the mosaics, but among the Greek inscriptions we see Latin distichs explaining the significance of each scene. The exterior of the church offers an aspect of richness and beauty not found in most Byzantine monuments. During the prolonged death-struggle of the Byzantine Empire, the Venetians took advantage of the abandonment of certain provinces to carry away rich marbles and handsome carvings for the embellishment of their national church. Indeed they even plundered some of the deserted buildings of Constantinople as well. The bronze quadriga over the main entrance attests the military prowess of the

PHOTO ALINARI

Fig. 201. — Vestibule of St. Mark's ornamented with scenes from the life of Joseph in mosaic.

Venetian fleet, for it is a trophy of the capture and sack of Constantinople by the armada of the Republic. To add to the magnificence of the exterior of the church, it was adorned with relief figures of the Virgin and the saints and with mosaics representing scenes from the life of St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice. The magnificence and variety of the capitals of the columns are beyond compare; some are ancient Roman carvings and others date from the period of the Doge Orseolo, while some are of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. They are all combined in the best taste imaginable. To complete our description of the

exterior of the basilica we should not neglect to mention the ornamentation of the cupolas. Upon the brick domes are set wooden frames surmounted by lighter metal cupolas which stand out from the mass of the building. The five domes with their gilded pinnacles and the delicate tracery of the spires round about them strike a joyous note as they cast their radiance across the lagoons.

Fig. 202. — Chapel of the Admiral. PALERMO.

About the time St. Mark's was being built, the Byzantine army again occupied Southern Italy which had been devastated by the Lombards and later by the Saracens from Sicily. The fortunes of war resulted in a partition of the southern portion of the peninsula; Capitanata, Apulia and the territory about Otranto remained Byzantine, while Calabria and Sicily fell to the Saracens. Bari, the residence of the *Kapitanos,* or imperial deputy, with its port and fortress became what Ravenna had been in Justinian's time. But this state of affairs was soon brought to an end by a new disturbing element which first overthrew the domination of the Saracens and then, two or three centuries later, forced the Byzantine garrisons to retire. This third element consisted of a band of hardy Norman adventurers who had come from the misty shores of Northern France to found a kingdom among the orange groves of Sicily and Southern Italy. Although these northern conquerors were only a small governing aristocracy and never exceeded one percent of the population, they were quick to appreciate the capabilities of the Saracen and Byzantine artisans and artists who still remained in the country. The Norman monuments of Sicily, though they were due to the initiative of princes and bishops newly arrived from Northern Europe, were largely the work of Mohammedan artisans and Byzantine sculptors and mosaic-workers. These placed their own stamp upon the interiors of the buildings, lining them with the gold and bright colors of the Orient.

Even before the Norman conquest, Byzantines and Saracens lived together in Sicily on friendly terms. When Roger the Norman entered Palermo, he found a Greek archbishop and a number of churches where Christian worship was carried on undisturbed. The Normans did little to interfere with the peoples they found there. French, their mother tongue, was used only at court, and the

Fig. 203.—Campanile of the Church of the Admiral. PALERMO.

Fig. 204.—Interior of the Church of San Cataldo. PALERMO.

Greek and Arabic spoken by the common people continued to be the official languages of the state.

The Sicilian churches of the Norman period rival even St. Mark's in beauty, for the Norman kings were wealthy and had abundant resources at their disposal. The collaboration of Saracen workmen effected certain departures from Byzantine art. A note is struck that is less mystical and more sensuous, and yet we observe a certain disinclination to adopt the combinations of cupolas which had become so integral a part of Byzantine architecture elsewhere. The churches are usually basilican in plan with a nave and two aisles covered by a richly decorated wooden roof. Only in the centre of the transept and in the apses do we find the domed vault covered with mosaics representing Byzantine themes. Up to a certain height the walls inside are covered with incrustations of marble and other hard stone forming Arabic patterns. Above are scenes in mosaic containing figures. The columns, each of a single piece of stone, are usu-

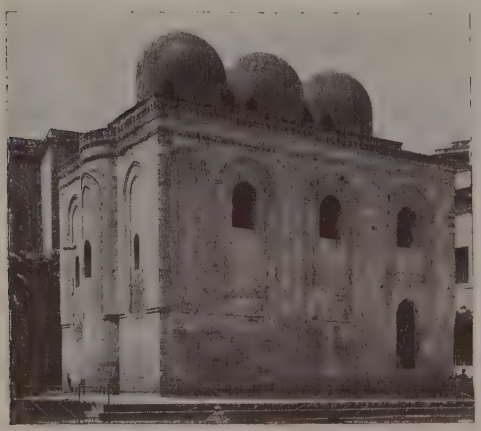

Fig. 205.—Exterior of the Church of San Cataldo. PALERMO.

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Fig. 206. — Façade of the cathedral of Cefalú. Sicily.

ally the spoils of ancient Roman buildings which must have been very abundant in Sicily at that time. These columns are usually accompanied by their own original capitals. The earliest Norman church in Sicily was built before the capture of Palermo. It is just outside the capital and is called San Giovanni of the Lepers. The oldest Norman church in the city itself is Santa Maria of the Admiral, so called because it was constructed by the admiral, George of Antioch, an Easterner of high rank who entered the service of King Roger II and organized the navy of the new state. For this he was given the title of first noble of Sicily. The Church of the Admiral was completed in 1129. It has a nave and two aisles, each of which is covered with three domes. These cu-

Fig. 207. — Apse of the cathedral at Cefalú. Sicily.

Fig. 208. — Cathedral at Palermo.

polas are all set rather low except the central dome in front of the apse which is raised upon a drum (fig. 202). As in the other Norman churches, the nave and aisles are separated by pointed arches, but the decoration is entirely Byzantine in character. George of Antioch brought marble-cutters and mosaic artists from the Orient, whose work in Sicily is very similar to what we find in the cities of the Empire.

Nevertheless, we find beside the Church of the Admiral a campanile built in the Gothic style which had now begun to develop in Northern France (figure 203). Its arrangement is similar to the towers of some of the French cathedrals, such as that of Laon. It is square at the base and becomes octagonal as it rises.

Not far away is another small church which is dedicated to San Cataldo. The pointed stone arches of its interior are also like those of France (fig. 204). But the intervention of Mohammedan artisans is apparent in the three domes of

Interior of the Palatine Chapel. PALERMO.

the nave which flare at the bottom like those of Persian architecture and swell out above the roof like three helmets (fig. 205).

The small chapel of the royal palace at Palermo is much richer. It has been but little restored and is still, perhaps, the finest example we have of Sicilian art. (Plate XIV.) It, too, has a nave and two aisles. The wooden ceiling is of Arab workmanship and is ornamented with the polychrome stalactites which we shall later find in the Alhambra. But its colors are so vivid that they rival in brilliancy the mosaics on the walls. The building is lighted only from the windows that pierce the small gilded dome above the centre of the transept, and the visitor coming out of the glaring Sicilian sunshine into this cool chapel is filled with a sensation of physical and esthetic delight hard to describe. In the mingled sunlight and shadow the brightly colored marbles and mosaics covering the walls give forth a soft radiance. The pavement is inlaid with a marquetry of hard stone, and the chapel still preserves its old pulpits and screens, the royal throne ornamented with mosaics, and the marvelous paschal candelabrum which is one of the finest pieces of decorative sculpture that any period has ever produced.

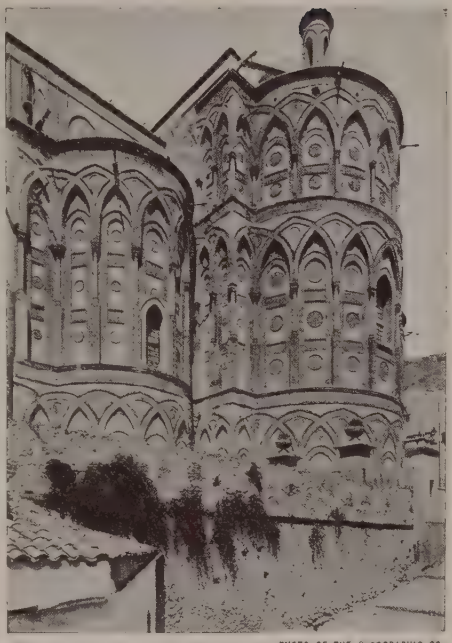

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Fig. 209.— Apse of the cathedral of Monreale.

Not content with these smaller buildings, the Norman kings erected great cathedrals in the same mixed style. The earliest, perhaps, is the one at Cefalú, a small town on the western coast of Sicily, where King Roger II landed upon his return from Italy in 1131 after a dangerous and stormy passage. He had made a solemn vow to build a church upon the spot where he should first set foot on dry land, and this splendid cathedral is the result. Its façade is characteristic of French taste; two towers, not unlike the campanile of the Church of the Admiral, flank the portico at the entrance to the church (figs. 206 and 207).

The interior contains the finest mosaics in all Sicily. The decorative scheme was never completely carried out, but the mosaics of the apse were executed with a beauty that is extraordinary.

Another Norman cathedral was that at Messina, destroyed a few years ago by an earthquake, but little remained of the original construction. The cathedral at Palermo must have been a splendid example of the Norman architecture of Sicily, but it was barbarously restored in the Baroque style of the Eighteenth Century by the architect Fernando Fuga under the Bourbon kings of Naples.

Fig. 210.—Interior of the church of Monreale.

Neither the mosaics nor the general aspect of the interior were respected, and only the decoration of the façade was preserved (fig. 208).

The handsome church of the monastery of Monreale fortunately still remains intact. Here were buried the Norman kings of Sicily. Its vast area is divided by lofty marble columns into a nave and two aisles. The ceiling is too high to impress us with its decorative effect; as in the Palatine Chapel, it is of simple wooden construction. It is on the walls that we find the magnificence and display for which the church is famous; indeed, nothing could be added to make this basilica more splendid. Arab marble-workers have incrusted the lower spaces with marquetry of the most complicated and varied designs imaginable; the pavement is inlaid with beautiful variegated patterns; and above are brilliant bands of Byzantine mosaic (fig. 210).

Monreale was begun in 1176 by William the Good. In the official edict announcing its foundation we read that the king proposed to construct a work so splendid that "it should redound to the glory of God who had placed the scepter in his hands and spared him from every misfortune." In 1182 the pope made it the seat of an archbishopric, for reports had reached Rome of the magnificence of the new church which was being erected in the valley just outside of Palermo.

Adjoining the church of Monreale is a spacious cloister which is one of the most beautiful spots in the world. In one corner plays an Oriental fountain

Fig. 211. — Cloister of Monreale. Palermo.

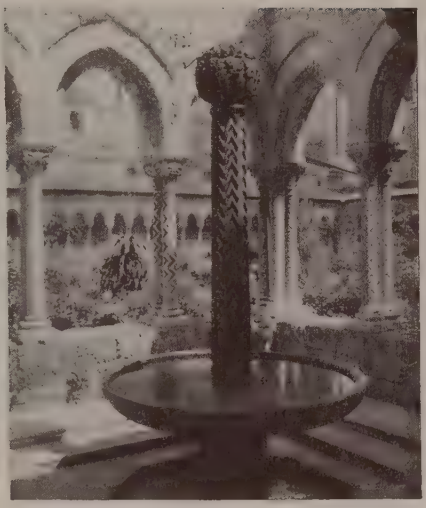

Fig. 212. — Fountain in a corner of the cloister of Monreale.

within a little pavilion the columns of which are covered with red and gold mosaics (fig. 211 and 212).

Much of the richness of these structures is due to the fact that the artists in the service of the Norman kings still retained a knowledge of working the hardest stone, such as porphyry and red granite. The technique of this art was known to the sculptors of classical times, but it was lost to Western Europe during the Middle Ages and was only rediscovered at the time of the Renaissance. The royal tombs of Monreale are carved from great blocks of porphyry (fig. 213), and the floor is paved with large slabs of the hardest stone, still unworn and as brilliant as on the day they were set in place.

The combination of Saracenic and Byzantine styles gives the buildings of the Norman kings of Sicily a variety that is most delightful. At times the Byzantine element predominates, as in the Chapel of the Admiral; again the Saracenic builders had their way, and we see structures that are decidedly Mohammedan in character. Not many examples of the civil architecture of this period have come down to us, but there is still just outside of Palermo the famous bridge constructed by the admiral, George of Antioch. To this day it bears the name of its founder, and it is supported by pointed arches (fig. 214).

One of the halls of the old royal palace at Palermo is still preserved, although it is now incorporated in a building of later date. Decorated with flowers and hunting scenes in mosaic, it might well be taken for the residence of an Oriental emir. Writers and travellers of the time described the palaces of King Roger built by the sea that the monarch might enjoy the fresh breezes from the Mediterranean. Here the kings of Sicily led the same sort of life as had the Saracen rulers who preceded them. Indeed, the royal guard was composed of faithful Mohammedan soldiers who still retained their Arabian costume and language. The remains of the famous palace of La Ziza among the orchards

Fig. 213. — Sarcophagus of William II. Monreale.

outside Palermo gives us some idea of the country residences of the Norman kings which were built in the Arabian style (fig. 215). Although the capital of the Norman kingdom was at Palermo in Sicily, the court was often in Southern Italy so this original style, half Byzantine and half Saracenic, spread throughout the south of the peninsula. In the cathedrals of Amalfi, Salerno, Ravello and even at Capua and Gaeta to the north of Naples, we still find evidences of the spread of an art which originated in Sicily.

So from both Venice and Sicily we find Oriental forms, largely Byzantine, penetrating the entire Italian peninsula during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. This intrusion was the more opportune in that it coincided with the military expeditions of the German emperors who sought to reestablish their rights as the successors of Charlemagne to the lands of the old Roman Empire. All Southern Europe, more or less, had by this time become the pupil of Constantinople. Byzantine princesses were sought in marriage by the reigning families of the Occident, and these ladies and their suites attempted by their refined manners, elegant garments, perfumes and the like, to ameliorate the rough life they found in mediaeval Western Europe. Then, too, the persecutions of the image-worshippers of Constantinople caused whole colonies of Greek monks to emigrate and seek more congenial surroundings in the West. These Byzantine religious communities naturally preferred the Norman kingdom of Southern Italy. Here the Greek element was still numerous, and yet they would be independent of the emperors of the East. But they did not confine themselves to this district; they even installed themselves on the half deserted hills of the city of the Popes. We still see on every hand evidences of the influence exerted by these Byzantine monks at Rome, for they even went so far as to decorate with their own paintings and with Greek inscriptions the venerable church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum which had evidently been entrusted to their care. There is still a monastery of Orthodox Greek monks on the Caelian Hill at Rome, and only three hours' journey from the city we find intact the splendid monastery of Grottaferrata, founded by St. Nilus, with a treasure of manuscripts, icons and ceremonial objects which make it a veritable museum of Byzantine art.

These colonies of Greek monks also spread to the north into Bulgaria and Servia. We can readily understand, Byzantine civilization being what it was, that their appearance could not but mark the coming of everything that would

Fig. 214. — Bridge of the Admiral. PALERMO.

tend to the spread of Byzantine thought and art. We now know the important part played by these monasteries in the political and social life of the Empire, so it is interesting to know something of the character of these communities out of which surged the fanatical passions which at times shook Byzantine society to its foundations. In Constantinople only the mutilated remains of the Studion still remain. It was from this monastery that candidates were chosen for the position of Metropolitan Patriarch of the church of St. Sophia and other high posts of the Eastern Church. But to know what these religious communities really were, we must turn to the provincial convents which did not suffer so severely from the effects of the Moslem invasion. There are St. Luke of Stiris, Daphni near Athens and, most important of all, the monastic colony on Mt. Athos. The sacred mountain of Athos forms a promontory extending from the coast of Thrace, and on this green peninsula are Byzantine monasteries, beginning at the sea and extending step-like up the slopes on either side. The most ancient of these is St. Laura, founded by St. Athanasius and distinguished by the patronage of that warlike Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, who enriched it with many gifts as did his successor, the terrible John Zimisces. Later on, the monastery of Vatopedi was built on the wild mountainside and was richly endowed in its turn. It was followed by the Iveron, founded by monks from Georgia, although it was later occupied by Greeks monks as well. Other communities continued to erect their convents on both slopes of the promontory. While the empire endured, the monasteries of Mt. Athos never ceased to react to the events occurring at Constantinople. Enriched by imperial donations and legacies from devout princesses, they af-

Fig. 215. — Interior of the Palace of Siza. PALERMO.

Fig. 216. — Interior of the old palace in the Kremlin. Moscow.

forded a refuge to their saintly founders who had retired from the turmoil of politics and continually sent out artists and writers into the world. Crowded together on the habitable space afforded by the sacred mountain, they remind us of the numerous monastic establishments which filled the old capital. Each is generally arranged in a square composed of the various buildings which are grouped about a court, in the centre of which stands the principal church by itself.

The monks of Mt. Athos now carry on an extensive commerce in icons and religious paintings in which they reproduce the old Byzantine religious themes, and these are purchased for their weight in gold by pious Russian pilgrims who carry these survivals of the old art to the far-off steppes of their own country, where Orthodox believers still preserve the rites of the Greek Church.

In Russia, the last conquest of Byzantine culture, we still find this art alive and vigorous. The introduction of the art and religion of Byzantium into Russia took place about the year 1000, according to the old chronicles, at a time when the fate of the Empire seemed to hang in the balance. Indeed, it was a tragic epoch for Constantinople. The Emperors Basil and Constantine saw their dynasty imperilled by the rebellion of one of their most able generals, the pretender Bardas, who had attempted to assume the crown in the Asiatic provinces. The Bulgarians and Servians had crossed the frontier, and a Russian prince, Vladimir, had captured the ancient city of Chersonesus in the Crimea, where Sebastopol now stands. To pacify this enemy the two Emperors consented to give their

sister, Anna Porphyrogenita, in marriage to the Slavic ruler. He was a rude barbarian and still a pagan, but he consented to be baptised together with his people that he might form an alliance with the imperial family. Previous to its capture by Vladimir, Chersonesus had belonged to the Empire. It contained churches and monasteries, and here Vladimir made his profession of faith. Recent excavations near Sebastopol have uncovered the ruins of the baptistery where the first Christian prince of Russia was probably baptised. Anna Porphyrogenita arrived at the city with a brilliant suite of nobles, court ladies, priests and missionaries and the work of evangelizing the Russian people now began. It is owing to their efforts that the Russian Church is orthodox to this day and that the customs, sentiments, alphabet and art of the country are still Byzantine. After his conversion Vladimir moved his capital again, this time to Kief, where he built the mother church of Russia, St. Sophia of Kief, which was the work of artists and workmen from Byzantium. This church is covered with domes and decorated with mosaics in the purest Byzantine style. Along the stairways are singular mural paintings representing scenes from the Hippodrome with the Emperor presiding over the games. It is evidently the great Hippodrome of Constantinople, the work of Greek artists in far-off Russia who copied the secular themes with the same precision, perhaps, as they did religious subjects. From Kief, Byzantine art spread all over Russia; indeed it was well suited to the innate love of the Slav people for pomp and display. The exteriors of the various buildings probably did not change so much. The climate almost required the continuation of the old wooden construction in

Fig. 217.—View of the new church of the Russian navy. KRONSTADT.

Fig. 218. — Interior of the new church of the Russian navy. KRONSTADT.

private houses; but the decoration of their interiors followed the fashions of Byzantium. Mongol invasions drove the court to Moscow, and it was later moved to Petrograd. In Moscow the fortress of the Kremlin, with palaces and churches crowded within its walls, must resemble to some extent the old imperial palace at Constantinople. The Kremlin dates from the Twelfth Century, but at first it was only a wooden city defended by a palisade. It was a Byzantine princess of the Palaeologus family, the wife of Ivaň III, who began in the Fifteenth Century the construction of the present palaces of the Kremlin. The architects were two Italians from Milan, Pietro Antonio and Marco Ruffo. The exteriors of the buildings are in the style of the Renaissance, modified slightly by local taste, but inside, the decoration is entirely Oriental. The ceilings and

Fig. 219. — Church of the Resurrection. PETROGRAD.

walls are ornamented with roses and interlaced patterns which recall the Byzantine mosaics (fig. 216).

During all the time, however, that Russia was under the tutelage of Byzantium, the art of the country was also influenced to some extent by countries lying still further to the east, such as Armenia and Persia, for the Russians came in contact with these nations as well. This accounts for the bulbous domes which surmount their cupolas and are so characteristic of Russian architecture. Of the newer churches in Russia, that of the Russian navy at Kronstadt is almost purely Byzantine (figs. 217 and 218); but the rich Church of the Resurrection at Petrograd, erected on the spot where Alexander II was assassinated in 1881, is more typically Russian in character with its towers crowned with bulb-shaped

domes (fig. 219). The national art of Russia preserves everywhere its love for complicated forms, resplendent domes and mosaic walls and floors. An offshoot of the parent stock, Russian art today is a rejuvenation of the old Byzantine styles.

Summary. — The reconquest of Africa by Justinian's generals in the Fifth Century resulted in the erection of many small churches and fortresses of the Byzantine type. In the Adriatic area the penetration of Byzantine art may be said to have been permanent. The cathedral of Parenzo and the church at Torcello bear evidence that, while the basilican form was retained, the decoration of the churches of the Gulf of Venice was entrusted to Byzantine artists. The present church of St. Mark at Venice was built on the site of an earlier structure of the same type. Destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt in its present form. Its plan is that of a Greek cross and it is covered by five domes. The interior is entirely decorated with Byzantine mosaics.

In the South of Italy the Byzantine garrisons and Saracen emirs were supplanted by a band of Norman adventurers who set up a kingdom in Sicily. The Norman churches of the island are basilicas, but they were decorated by Byzantine artists, and we also note the influence of the Saracens in the stalactites on the ceilings and the complicated patterns of the incrustation of the lower wall-spaces. The oldest building of this type at Palermo is the church of the Admiral, and the most beautiful is the Palatine Chapel which is still preserved almost intact. The great church of Monreale, close by the city, has also suffered but little from restorations. In the last are the tombs of the Norman kings of Sicily. Byzantine art spread over Macedonia and Thrace, and Mt. Athos is still covered with Greek monasteries. But it is in Russia that we find Byzantine art a live and growing force today, for this country still preserves the decorative motives and artistic forms of the Eastern Empire.

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Fig. 220. — An execution. Byzantine ivory of the Tenth Century.

Fig. 221. — Gold plaque from Siberia. *(Museum of the Hermitage.)* PETROGRAD.

CHAPTER VII

GERMANIC OR BARBARIAN ART. — THE ROUTE OF THE BARBARIANS.
BARBARIAN ART IN WESTERN SIBERIA AND ON THE PLAINS
OF SOUTHERN RUSSIA. — BARBARIAN GOLDSMITH'S WORK.
THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY,
THE FRANKS IN GAUL AND THE VISIGOTHS IN SPAIN.

Fifty years ago our knowledge of the barbarian peoples of Europe was derived solely from literary sources, such as references in the works of the Fathers of the Church, the mediaeval chronicles and even the Roman historians. Tacitus in his monograph entitled "Germania" has given us a most valuable account of the character and psychology of these nomad peoples whom the Roman legions were still able to keep from crossing the Rhine and continuing their progress westward across the provinces of the Empire. With a sober eloquence seldom equaled by our modern anthropologists, this writer describes to us the religion, family relations, epic songs, arms and costumes of the barbarian tribes. The classical representations of these people, like those in the reliefs of Trajan's column, show them wearing jewelry in great profusion; and their own legends dwell on the handsome armour and necklaces of their ancient leaders. The heroes of the Nibelungenlied fight with one another for the possession of Odin's ring, and a father and his son recognize each other in a fight by their bracelets. Before the gates of Rome Totila inflamed his warriors with the offer of paniers of jewels that should be the reward of those who distinguished themselves in the assault upon the Eternal City. Indeed, Tacitus himself tells us that a barbarian chieftain was buried with his arms, jewels and favorite horse, and that the site of the tomb was then marked by a simple

Fig. 222. — Ornament from Siberia. *(Museum of the Hermitage.)* PETROGRAD.

Figs. 223 and 224. — Gold plaques from Siberia. *(Hermitage Museum.)* PETROGRAD.

mound of earth. Sooner or later some of these tombs were bound to be discovered in the country occupied by the barbarians and interesting relics brought to light. The very simplicity of the monument itself would tend to preserve it contents, for a shapeless mound of earth would hardly excite the cupidity of the ignorant treasure-hunter. In 1653, as a matter of fact, the arms and jewels of the Frankish king, Chilperic, when they were discovered near Tournai, attracted the attention of the Spanish officials of the Low Countries by their remarkable artistic merit. But the curiosity aroused by this find soon died out, and no further attention was paid to the matter until a number of similar objects were found at Pouan in 1842. Another treasure was discovered in Gourdon in 1845, and from that time on examples of barbarian goldsmith's work were found in many localities. At the Paris Exposition of 1878 the Rumanian government exhibited a marvelous collection of jewels from Petrossa; some crowns were unearthed at Guarrazar near Toledo, Spain; and in both Italy and Dalmatia swords, brooches and other jewels of the same character have been identified. The material and style of this barbarian art are so characteristic that the archaeologist, de Lynas, was able to collect all the known data and publish it in a monograph called *L'orfèvrerie mérovingienne,* which appeared in 1884.

The architectural monuments of these people are few in number and of little importance, as we shall see further on; but their arms and jewels are not only of importance to the historian, but also possess an esthetic value for the lover of art. In the course of their long migration across Europe, attended by constant forays and hostile incursions, it was natural that the tastes of these barbarian tribes should cause them to turn chiefly to the ornamentation of their arms and personal possessions, for architectural activity would require a more or less permanent residence in one locality. They were plentifully supplied with material for this class of work, as they had come from countries where gold was abundant and easily mined. Their tombs mark the course of their march westward, for the same barbaric brooches and other jewels are found on the Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula, along the Rhine and Danube, in the Carpathians and even in Southern Russia and the Crimea. Among the gold-bearing Urals and even in the distant valleys of Western Siberia we find these relics, so the beginning of this

culture is now sought in the country lying between Persia and the Asiatic steppes occupied by Mongol nomads. It is here that we have to look for the origin of these artistic forms and the secret of their magnificence, for the gold and precious stones of which they are composed are still plentiful in the mines of the Urals and certain districts of Siberia. The itinerary of these tribes explains in many cases the forms assumed by their art, for they learned much on the way. One of these nations, the Goths, which finally settled in Spain, left Asia some centuries before our era. They lived for a time on the shores of the Black Sea where they learned from the Greeks of the Cimmerian Bosporus to improve their technique of working in gold and where, no doubt, their Asiatic styles were refined. From here they must have been pushed on across Central Europe by new waves of migrating peoples, for Tacitus places them on the shores of the Baltic near the mouth of the Elbe. In his time they were separated into two main divisions, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths. According to the old chronicles, the invasion of the Huns found them encamped on the banks of the Danube and retreating to the south for reasons of which we are ignorant. Defeated by Attila, they took refuge in Byzantine territory, where their artistic technique was further modified and refined. With the consent of the Emperor, they passed over to Italy, but their stay was brief, for they made an alliance with Honorius who ceded Spain to his sister Galla Placidia,

Fig. 225. — Gothic fibula from Calatayud. *(Mus. of Madrid.)*

PHOTO MOSCIONI

Fig. 226. — Treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklos. *(Imperial Museum at Vienna.)*

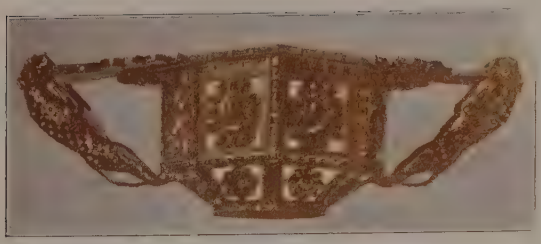

Fig. 227. — Gold basket ornamented with two leopards. Treasure of Petrossa. *(Museum of Bucharest.)*

the wife of the Visigothic chieftain, Ataulphus. This long migration explains to some extent the art of these people. In Asia they had learned a taste for jewelry and other ostentatious gold ornaments. Their style was somewhat Hellenized by contact with the Greeks of the Bosporus and later with the court of Byzantium, but it is fundamentally Oriental. We never fail to recognize that taste for richness and complicated forms so characteristic of the Asiatic imagination.

Unfortunately the older objects made of Siberian gold have been little studied, and we are ignorant of the sites from which they came or of the conditions under which they were discovered. The marvelous collection of jewels from Siberia in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd has until recently remained uncatalogued. In the words of a Russian archaeologist, it was "the beauty in the enchanted wood", still waiting to be awakened from her sleep. We only know that these articles were largely assembled by Peter the Great, who had taken an interest in the gold objects found in Siberia and who installed them in one of the pavilions of the Winter Palace. Here they remained until 1728, when they were presented to the Imperial Academy of Sciences. It was proposed to issue a publication covering the collection, but for a long time nothing was done. The collection was supplemented from time to time by the addition of similar pieces from the region lying between the Obi and Yenisei Rivers. In default of any Russian publication on the subject, Montfaucon made use of a number of drawings sent by the librarian of Peter the Great to the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris in 1772, and until recent years these comprised our material for study. The objects themselves have been reproduced in a modern Russian publication, but the volume of text accompanying the illustrations has not yet appeared (figures 221 to 224).

The style of these ancient barbarian ornaments from Siberia cannot be mistaken. We find that richness and massing of decorative elements so characteristic of the Orient, but accompanied by certain new features which are typical of all early Germanic art. There is a feeling for symmetry which is anything but Oriental and an interesting tendency to employ conventionalized zoomorphic

Fig. 228. — Chilperic's sword. *(Bibliothèque Nationale)*. PARIS.

Fig. 229. — Gold tray. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS

forms. One Siberian ornament, for example, represents a deer with antlers terminating in heads of other animals, while the tail ends in a serpent; and yet the entire figure preserves the general lines of a deer. There is also a gold fibula representing an eagle with extended wings, but the feathers end in twisting reptile forms. These jewels of native gold are sometimes set with the red garnets that abound in the Ural-Altaic region and exhibit the Persian taste for combinations of materials of various colors. The older Siberian ornaments, however, are almost entirely of pure gold, and the stones with which they are set do not assume undue prominence. Their richness lies rather in the decorative elements and the fanciful originality with which these are transformed into zoomorphic forms.

At the time the Goths began their long migration, we seem to detect a Persian influence in their liking for enchased stones, an imitation, perhaps, of the enamels of that country. We also see traces of the Iranian styles and traditions of Persia in the later art of these barbarian peoples. An excellent example of this is the decoration of the two vessels of the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklos in Hungary. They might easily be mistaken for Persian work of the Sassanian period (fig. 226).

In Southern Russia, which we believe to have been the next region occupied by these Teutonic tribes, they came in contact with the Greek colonies of the Cimmerian Bosporus. Here was an interesting gold industry the product of which was the richest and most magnificent of any of the Hellenistic schools. The barbarian chieftains learned from these Greeks to adorn their jewels with cameos and engraved gems, and their artists began to represent their own gods in imitation of those of the Greek Pantheon. The decorative elements became somewhat more regular, and we find an interesting combination of their tradi-

Fig. 230. — Theodoric's cuirass. *(Museum of Ravenna.)*

tional Asiatic art with these new Greek forms. A gold crown, probably that of a priestess, was found at Novocherkassk near the mouth of the Don and is now in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd. It ends in a complicated animal form, but on the circlet of the crown itself there is a cameo and a number of figures in gold repoussé which are in the purest Hellenistic taste.

The most typical examples of the barbarian goldsmith's work of this period are the magnificent pieces found at Petrossa and now in the National Museum at Bucharest. This treasure originally consisted of twenty-two articles, but only ten of them, and these badly treated, have been preserved. The rest were destroyed in order to sell the gold and precious stones of which they were composed. There are now three large fibulae, or brooches, representing birds; two large disks, one of them ornamented with figures of Germanic and Greek gods; two torques, or neck-rings; a small vessel that is purely Greek; and two marvelous gold baskets encrusted with garnets and turquoises, their graceful handles formed of leopards rampant (fig. 227). At first sight the Petrossa treasure would appear to be a rich collection of jewels belonging to one of the Greek princes of Scythia or Persia, but a mysterious inscription in Runic characters on one of the rings indicates beyond a doubt that we have here the sacred treasure of one of the Gothic tribes. They are the jewels of a priest-king, perhaps Athanaric himself, though he is supposed to have died at Constantinople. These may be the fibulae which he wore

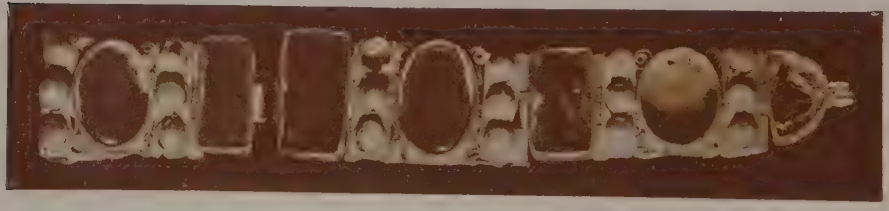

Fig. 231. — Barbarian bracelet. *(Museum of Ravenna.)*

upon his breast when his warriors swore fidelity over the mysterious ring, stained with blood. As they continued on their long journey and established themselves in Northern Europe, these Teutonic tribes came in contact with a new element which also contributed to the development of their art. This was the prehistoric population of Europe, which, as we have already seen, were the Neolithic originators of a decorative style characterized by geometrical designs and complicated curves. This style has been called that of La Tène, for it was in this district near the Lake of Neuchâtel that it reached its highest development. Long after the arrival of the barbarians, we find the art of La Tène surviving among the peoples of Scandinavia and on the Baltic coast where Graeco-Roman influence did not penetrate. But in spite of all these accumulated elements, Germanic art never lost its Oriental character. The European designs of La Tène were readily adopted and combined with their own conventionalized zoomorphic forms. The brooches, which in Siberia and the earlier stages of the barbarian migrations were simply made in the form of a bird, now become true elaborate jewels ornamented with twisted curves and spirals ending in the head of a reptile or a horse.

Fig. 232. — Golden hen. *(Treasure of Monza.)*

Their taste for incrustation with precious and semi-precious stones became more and more pronounced, until enamels were substituted sometimes for them. The guard and scabbard-clasps of the sword of Chilperic found at Tournai are set with garnets in such a manner that it has the appearance of an enameled piece. The gold is almost hidden beneath the accumulation of red stones which

Fig. 233. — Cross incrusted with raised work. Obverse and reverse sides and étui. *(Treasure of Monza.)*

Fig. 234.—Iron crown of the Lombards.
(Treasure of Monza.)

are set into sockets in the metal so that they resemble the colored Byzantine glazes (fig. 228).

The tray of the Gourdon treasure displays the same technique (fig. 229). The border is decorated with colored stones, mostly garnets, which have been cut flat and set into small openings formed by narrow partitions soldered on the hammered gold tray. The same was true of the famous chalice of St. Eloy at Chelles which disappeared during the French Revolution. Fortunately a number of careful drawings of this piece have been preserved. It was a tall vessel, almost cylindrical in form, and its exterior was entirely covered with this mosaic of garnets, the stones being set in sockets in such a manner as to imitate enamel.

Sometimes this gold and garnet mosaic is so fine as to be almost like a mesh, as in the geometrical designs of the gold pieces in the Museum of Ravenna (fig. 230). They are supposed to have belonged to Theodoric for the patterns are similar to those still seen on the friezes of his tomb.

It is evident that the technique of setting colored stones into sockets was derived from the enamel-work of Byzantium, except that cut garnets and turquoises are substituted for the fused vitreous material. The influence of Byzantine art on the jewels of the barbarians is seen in this fondness for imitating enamels with precious stones as well as in their knowledge of filigree. The latter consists of intertwisted wire soldered to a metal back. It is easy to understand how the barbarian chieftains in the course of their long migration would be interested in perfecting their national art, because they literally covered themselves with jewels. Their cuirasses were ornamented with handsome gold clasps; their leather shields were embossed with rich disks; and on their breasts hung *armillae* and other decorations like those worn by the Roman legionaries, but executed in an entirely different style. The Ostrogothic cemeteries discovered in Nocera Umbra in Italy have made us familiar with the profuse ornamentation of their arms

Fig. 235.—Votive crown of Theodelinda.
(Treasure of Monza.)

Fig. 236. — Tomb of Theodoric (actual state). RAVENNA.

and jewels; even in the tombs of women and children little knives are often found with handles ornamented with gold filigree and garnets which produce the effect of red enamel.

Although the Germanic peoples still maintained the social organization of a nomad group for a long time after they had established themselves in Western Europe, new needs arose and jewels began to be used for other purposes than

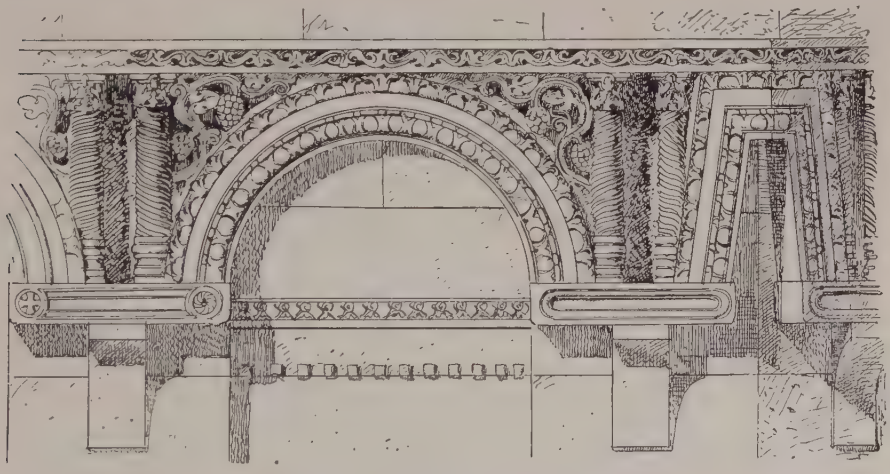

Fig. 237. — Reconstruction of the frieze of the tomb of Theodoric, after a fragment in the Museum of Ravenna, by A. Haupt-Hannover.

Fig. 238. — The palace of Theodoric. *(Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo.)* RAVENNA.

merely personal adornment. The treasure of jewels donated by the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, to the basilica of San Giovanni of Monza near Milan included not only her own comb and books, evangelistaries with gold covers incrusted with precious stones, but also a most singular votive offering consisting of a golden hen and chickens (fig. 232). The collection also includes a cross ornamented with raised work (fig. 233) and a votive crown and a cross set with stones hanging from it (fig. 235). These objects were doubtless presented by Theodelinda to the basilica of Monza about the end of the Sixth Century.

We find references to these precious articles in contemporary documents which praise them highly, and they are represented in the carved relief on the tympanum of a Romanesque door of the church. It is in this church that the iron crown of the Lombards is preserved with which Charlemagne is supposed to have been crowned when he was appointed emperor by Pope Leo III. It is called the iron crown because it contains within it an iron circlet which was believed to have been made of one of the nails with which the Saviour was nailed to the cross, but its exterior is of gold ornamented with flowers and set with pearls and other precious stones (fig. 234). There is really better ground for believing that the iron crown at Monza was only one of the votive crowns belonging to the church like those presented by Queen Theodelinda.

Fig. 239. — The palace of Theodoric (actual state). RAVENNA.

Similar crowns were presented by the Visigothic kings to the churches in Spain. The chroni-

Fig. 240. — Merovingian church. St. Jean de Poitiers.

Fig. 241. — Interior of the church of St. Jean de Poitiers.

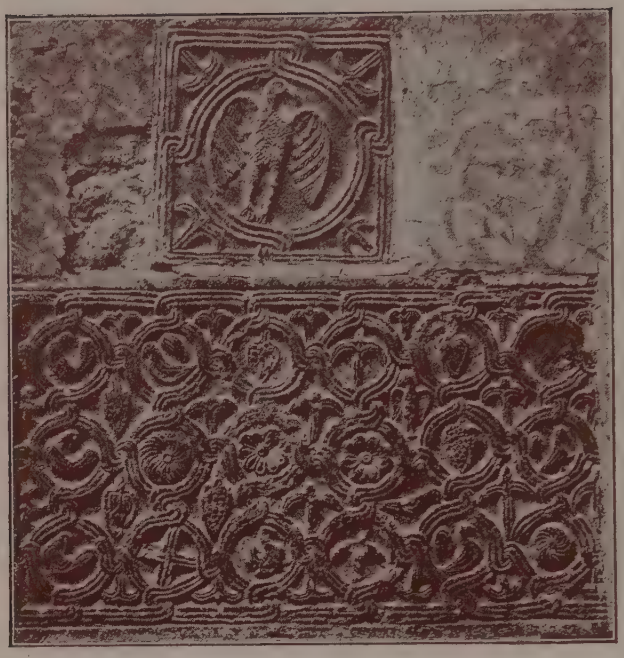

Fig. 242. — Merovingian reliefs. VENCE. *Maritime Alps.*

cles often mention gifts of this sort, and an Arabian historian recalls that when the Moslems entered the cathedral at Toledo, they found among the jewels of its treasury a series of crowns which each of the Gothic kings in turn had donated to the primatial church of their capital. These, of course, became the spoil of the invaders and disappeared, but fortunately some others from the neighboring monastery of Santa Maria de Sorbaces were found near Guarrazar in the same province in 1847, where they had been safely hidden from the Arabs. Some of these were also the gifts of kings. The most beautiful of them has hanging from the circlet the letters of a dedicatory inscription, *Reccesvinthus rex offeret.* Another is evidently the gift of Swintella, for it is inscribed, *Svinthilanus rex offeret.* Others of a more modest character were the offering of a pious lady named Sonnica, and there is one which bears an inscription showing that it had belonged to an abbot by the name of Theodosius. Not long ago these were divided between the Cluny Museum and the Armería Real at Madrid, but those which fell to the share of the latter were stolen in 1921 and their present whereabouts is unknown. (Plate XV.)

Barbarian goldsmith's work has been discussed first because it is especially associated in our minds with these new peoples who, mingled with the old Latin stock, were to become the modern nations of Western and Southern Europe. We shall now take up the other arts which they cultivated, including architecture, sculpture and even painting.

At first, of course, the barbarians had no architectural traditions of their own. Tacitus is very positive on this point in his description of their dwellings in Germany. "It is known," he remarks, "that there is in the German towns neither contiguity nor contact with one another of the houses which make up their settlements. Each lives apart wherever a spring, a meadow or the forest attracts him; there he sets his dwelling which is made of clay either to avoid fire or because of his little knowledge of architecture. Instead of mortar and bricks, of which they are ignorant, they employ a rude material with no pretention to

Visigothic crown of the treasure of Guarrazar (Toledo). In the centre is the crown of Recceswinth. *(Cluny Museum.)* PARIS.

Fig. 243. — Visigothic fragments of the palace of Masona. MERIDA.

beauty; although some houses are coated with a sort of varnish which is so fine that it resembles paint." He goes on to explain that some of these people lived in caves hewn in the rock. These were doubtless the dwellings of the chiefs, supported by rock pillars and more spacious than the mean huts of clay and straw scattered in the forests.

The Teutonic peoples retained their fondness for separate dwellings even after they had settled permanently in Western Europe. The old Roman cities were abandoned and the towns along the highways were left deserted. The barbarian chieftains settled with their families and retainers in fertile valleys or on hilltops easily defended. They surrounded their homes with palisades, and on these fortified sites grew up the castles of the Middle Ages. The Roman town was an unprotected agricultural settlement and was succeeded by the feudal dwelling. Here the houses of the lord and his followers were set close to the stables, and the entire establishment was surrounded by a strong rampart. Every night the herds were brought into the enclosure where the family lived, for the security of Roman times was now a thing of the past. The barbarians lived in a constant state of domestic warfare, while they never ceased to be threatened by new waves of invaders who attempted to drive them out of the territory which they had occupied.

Notwithstanding these conditions, they attempted to copy the old Roman organization, and a new type of architecture was soon required, something more permanent than the houses of wood and clay described by Tacitus in which they lived while they still inhabited the forests of Germany. We can readily

Fig. 244. — Exterior of the Visigothic church of San Juan de Baños.

understand how Theodoric, who dreamed of infusing the fresh blood of the Goths into the anemic body of the old Roman Empire and restoring the splendor of the glorious reigns of Augustus and Trajan, should desire to perpetuate his name by means of great monumental buildings, copied so far as possible from the works of the emperors. And yet it is interesting to observe that while he succeeded in surrounding himself at his court in Ravenna with a circle of writers and jurists like Boetius and Cassiodorus who did credit to their Roman antecedents, his architects were no longer capable of constructing a dome. It is affecting to visit that secluded corner of Italy where the tomb of Theodoric rises among the pines and lagoons that surround the marvelous city of Ravenna on the shores of the Adriatic (fig. 236). Theodoric, so far as we can learn, desired that his body should rest in a mausoleum like that of Augustus at Rome, where the sarcophagus of the great emperor was sheltered by a mighty dome. It is, indeed, sad to gaze upon what Theodoric's builders believed to be an imitation of the vault of the Roman mausoleum. It was necessary to transport a

Fig. 245. — Door of San Juan de Baños.

Restoration of the tomb of Theodoric (after A. Haupt-Hannover). RAVENNA.

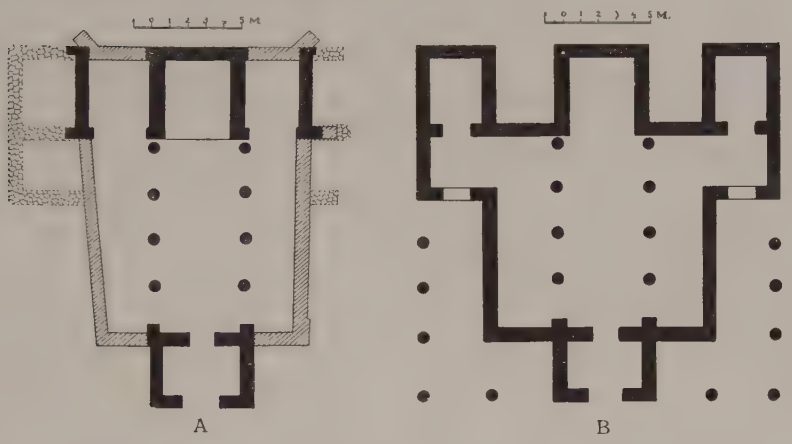

Fig. 246. — Actual plan of San Juan de Baños (A) and restored plan (B). (After Agapito y Revilla in the review, *Arquitectura y Construcciones.)*

great marble monolith from Dalmatia, for there is no stone suitable for such a purpose in the neighborhood of Ravenna. This was given a curved shape and set upon the tomb like a gigantic lid, in order that the remains of the Gothic warrior might be sheltered by something resembling a hemispherical dome. The block covering the burial chamber of Theodoric is about twenty-six feet in diameter, and we still see in the upper portion of its exterior the stone rings by means of which it was raised and set in place above the circular walls of the hall. The exterior of the structure is ornamented with blind arches of regular form, but the reliefs and other decorations of the friezes are already a departure from the classical models. We note in them the complicated geometrical designs of the goldsmith's work of these people with which we are already familiar (figs. 236, 237, and Plate XVI).

Theodoric also erected in his capital at Ravenna a palace, the disfigured remains of which are still in existence. It has been restored using the fragments which still remain on the façade, and we also see it depicted in the mosaics of the church of S. Apollinare not far from the palace (figs. 238 and 239).

These are the only authentic Gothic constructions in Italy, but they doubtless enriched the ancient

Fig. 247. — Interior of San Juan de Baños.

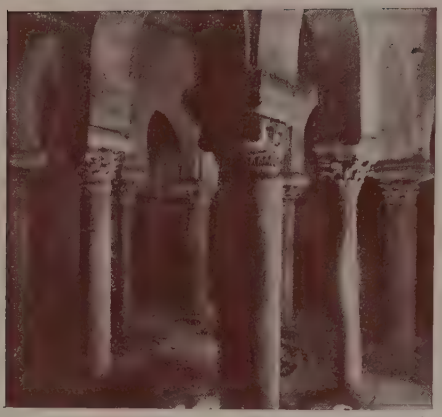
PHOTO MAS

Fig. 248. — Interior of the Visigothic baptistery of San Pedro at Tarrasa.

buildings about them with marble coverings and screens sculptured in the traditional barbarian style, following the patterns which we see on their brooches, jewels and arms. Italy is full of such reliefs set into churches and monuments of other periods. The Goths may have constructed other buildings of their own, but if they did, these have completely disappeared. Barbarian construction was never of a very permanent character. From what we see of their buildings at Ravenna, the famous *manu gothica* was only a system of setting large bricks in a thick bed of very poor mortar. After all, there was little incentive for them to build, for in every province they found the old Roman structures, many of which were still suitable for housing their kings in state. Even the palace of the Caesars on the Palatine was sufficiently well preserved to be occupied by Belisarius when he was in Rome. In Milan the Lombards found baths and basilicas which they repaired and decorated to suit their own tastes, and which served amply to house the courts of their kings, for these people had been long accustomed to the hardships of a nomad pastoral life. The same would be the case in Gaul, where the barbarian chieftains no doubt occupied the old Roman buildings. The court of Euric, which so astounded Venantius Fortunatus, the last Latin poet of that country, may have been installed in the handsome Capitol which we know existed at Toulouse. Sidonius Apollinaris describes his country residence with its vaulted baths, banquet-halls for summer and winter, and its terraces and loggias, all like a great Roman villa.

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Fig. 249.—Visigothic relief. *(National Arch. Museum.)* MADRID.

During the barbarian occupation, however, Gaul was evidently lacking in adequate Christian churches. Those erected immediately after the period of persecution were small cellae without decorations and quite in keeping with the humble cult of the early converts. But these invaders, when they embraced Christianity, displayed not only the enthusiasm of a vigorous young nation, but also the love of pomp and magnificence which they had inherited from their Asiatic forebears. They erected great basilicas in honor of their favorite saints; indeed, Byzantine artists may have been summoned to depict their history upon the walls, and their

own goldsmiths would supplement these decorations with lamps and golden pendants. For friezes and other marbles, they would despoil the old Roman monuments of their handsome carvings and set them in the façades of their own churches as trophies of conquest much as their goldsmiths had set antique cameos in their crowns and brooches. Even in the construction of churches the barbarian artist would continue to be more of a goldsmith than an architect, for that was the national art of these people. It would be the worker in precious metals who designed their churches; indeed, St. Eloy was a minister and court favorite of the Frankish kings.

Fig. 250. — Visigothic pilaster of the Cistern. MERIDA.

The best known monument of this period in Gaul was the church which was erected above the tomb of St. Martin by his devout successor, Bishop Gregory of Tours. The latter was a man of letters and patron of the arts as well as a churchman, and described his own work in epic verse. Even in his time the place was frequented by pilgrims from every part of Gaul. Nevertheless, his description is not sufficiently detailed for us to hazard any conjecture as to its precise character. Quicherat, the eminent French archaeologist, attempted to describe it as being composed of Graeco-Roman elements; but little was known of barbarian art in his time. M. Lasteyrie has attempted a similar restoration based upon the documents and texts of the Merovingian sanctuary of Chartres, where the image of a black Virgin was venerated at this time.

Only two or three authentic structures of this period still exist in France, and these are of a modest character. The buildings which were the object of popular devotion would naturally be subject to incessant modifications and improvements. From the France of the Merovingian period we have today only the church of St. Jean de Poitiers (figs. 240 and 241), the crypt of Jouarre and that of Auxerre. They are small vaulted structures supported by columns taken from Roman buildings. The capitals, however, are not the ancient ones, but later imitations in the Corinthian style. Although they are carved with much spirit, the chisel of the barbarian sculptor could not achieve the flexible grace of the Roman acanthus leaf. On the outside we see an attempt to imitate the cornice of a classical pediment, but combined with a frieze of various colors. It is a sort of mosaic of brick and stone in imitation of the typical enamels of

Fig. 251.—Visigothic capital. *San Pablo.* BARCELONA.

the barbarian jewels. The latter are also imitated in the reliefs, such as the carved eagle on the church at Vence which was evidently copied from their brooches (fig. 242). Some reliefs also represent animals and birds, but the traditional rosettes and clustered ornaments of Oriental origin predominate.

We know that the Visigoths erected great numbers of churches, monasteries and palaces in Spain, but only the negligible remains of a few of these have come down to us (fig. 243). Up to twenty years ago the only authentic Visigothic monument that was known was the little church of San Juan de Baños near Valladolid. An inscription records its dedication by Receswinth (fig. 244).

The church was evidently an important one for the period in which it was erected, for the king had taken pains to commemorate its consecration. It consists of a nave and two aisles separated by columns and arches, and there is a portico in front (fig. 245). The plan of the present church is somewhat simpler than that of the original structure, for recent excavations have revealed the existence of three recesses at the further end. They were like apses except that they were square. The two lateral ones were really isolated chapels not unlike those of the basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna which dates from Theodoric's time. The same arrangement of separate recesses flanking the chancel is also found in the Visigothic church of Pedret in the North of Catalonia. The capitals of the columns of San Juan de Baños are of the same barbarian Corinthian type that we find in France; indeed these scattered Germanic peoples possessed the same psychology to a degree that astonishes the observer of their work. Another monument that is known to be of Visigothic origin is the baptistery of San Pedro at Tarrasa, on the site of the ancient Egara, which was the episcopal seat of the Gothic church. The plan of the baptistery at Tarrasa is a square, and the central portion of the structure over the piscina is higher than the remainder. The vault of this part in the centre is supported by eight columns, the shafts and capitals of which are not uniform (fig. 248) and are rudely carved like those of San Juan de Baños. An important feature in these Visigothic structures is the horseshoe-arch. We find it traced in the plan as well as in the arches

Fig. 252.—Visigothic pilaster. *(Church of Vernet del Conflent.)*

and windows. Wherever a curve is required, this form is employed more frequently than the semicircle. It is traced upon the floor in the outline of the apse, and the arches between the nave and the aisles are of this shape. We see it in the windows and doors and in the interlaced ornamentation of the building. The presence of this element in the monuments of the Visigoths constitutes an important problem, for it seems probable that the Arabs learned of this form from the Visigoths and applied it to their own structures. We have still to discover whether the horseshoe-arch was an indigenous Spanish feature, or whether the barbarians brought it from the Roman provinces of Asia. Theyhad been in contact with these regions where it had been in use from very ancient times. In short, we wonder whether this Oriental type of arch which exceeds the semicircle was the result of early Semitic influences in Spain, or whether the Visigoths introduced it with their own Eastern customs and styles. If the latter is true, then it is difficult to explain the fact that none of the barbarian structures outside of Spain, such as Theodoric's buildings at Ravenna, exhibit this feature which is so thoroughly in keeping with the national spirit of Spain.

Fig. 253. — Cross from the Cathedral at Barcelona.

The fragments we have of Visigothic reliefs and other carvings in Spain show that these people continued to employ geometrical motives, wheel-like designs, combinations of stars and the like. Sometimes these interwoven designs with curious superimposed lines are very beautiful. The pilasters of the Cistern at Merida, for example, possess an esthetic originality that is extremely interesting. Here the capital is hollowed out of the stone block instead of its acanthus leaves projecting beyond the plane of the pilaster. In the centre of the fust is another more slender column which is purely ornamental (fig. 250). We also find this smaller column carved in relief upon a pilaster in Syria; as we shall see, the Visigothic church of Spain maintained relations with the monasteries of that country which resulted in great spiritual activity during the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. We see the same small decorative column in a more rudimentary form in a very ancient fust in the church of Vernet. It is probably from the monastery of St. Martin of Canigou or that of Cuxa (fig. 252).

These Visigothic carvings were often employed in the construction of later buildings. In Toledo there are reliefs from the monuments of this period built into the bridges and churches. At Cordova the Arabs used quantities of architectural ornaments from Visigothic basilicas in the façade of the great mosque of that city.

Fig. 254. — Relief from Tebessa. Tunis.

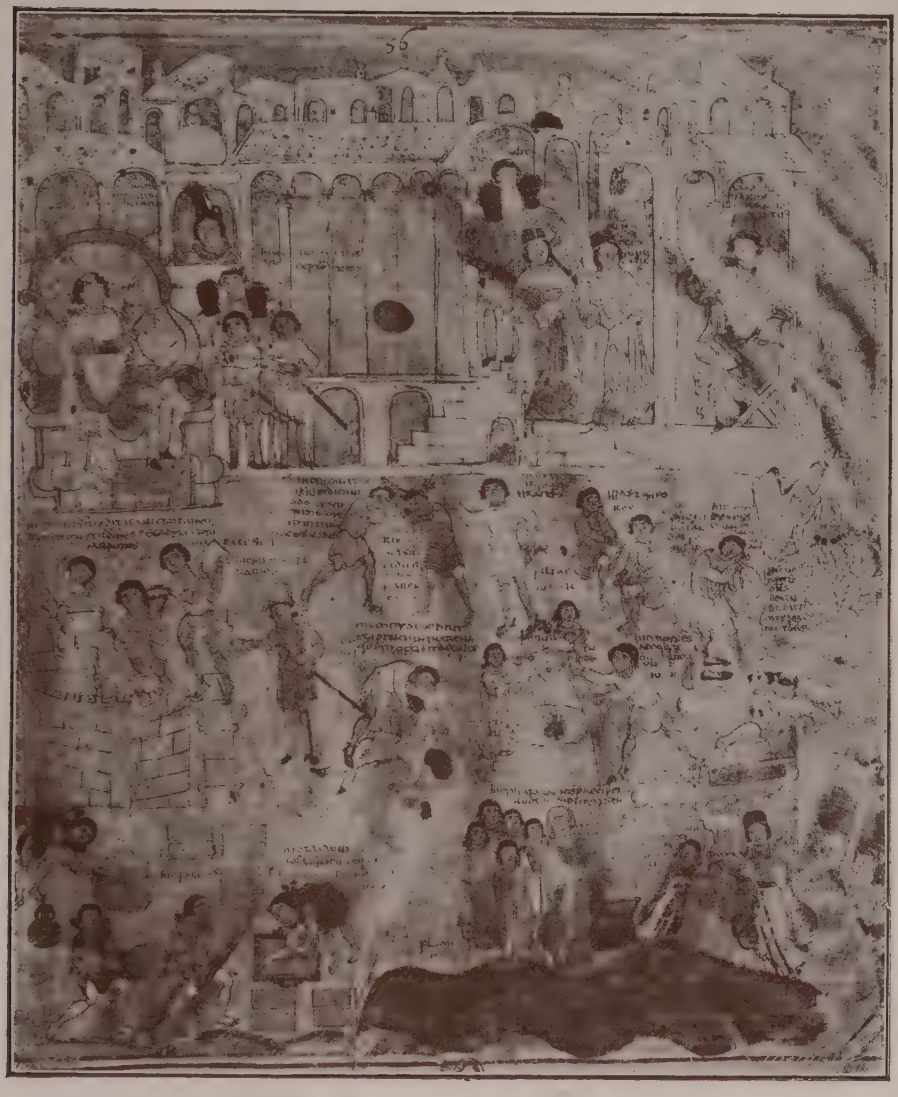
In Barcelona, too, we find Visigothic capitals and reliefs in the church of San Pablo del Campo (fig. 251). In the cathedral there are capitals dating from the same period and a cross carved in relief that resembles those of the treasure of Monza or the ones on the crowns of Guarrazar (fig. 253). In one of the reliefs of La Garriga we see the theme of the chains of the crown of Recceswinth. The same style extends along the coast of Northern Africa. There is an interesting stone at Tebessa which is very similar to the reliefs of San Juan de Baños; here, too, is the small cylindrical column ornamenting a fust (fig. 254).

No sculptures in the round from this period are to be found in either Spain or France. A statue in San Juan de Baños that was long believed to be contemporary with the construction of the church, has been found to be only of the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century. In Italy, however, we find a few remains of statues that date from the barbarian occupation. They are to be recognized by their costumes and by the high coiffure of the women's heads, as in the portrait head of Amalasuntha in the Capitol Museum or the one reproduced in figure 255.

We still have in Spain, however, a number of sarcophagi from the Visigothic period with reliefs of the early Christian type. The style is stiff and lifeless, and the figures are carved in planes and often framed in borders composed of parallel lines (fig. 257). A casket from the Abbey of St. Evreux in Normandy is believed by some to belong to the period when art was still subject to barbarian influences. Certainly some of the figures on this casket have a resemblance to the miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (fig. 256).

No monumental paintings have come down to us from this period, unless we accept the semi-Byzantine mosaics of Ravenna. It has been stated that mosaics were also executed in Gaul. Gregory of Tours mentions those of a church in Clermont-Ferrand.

In Spain, unfortunately, the Visigothic kingdom did not endure very long.



Miniature in the Visigothic manuscript from Spain called the Ashburnham Pentateuch. (In the upper zone we see Pharaoh in his elaborate palace. Among the guard are several negro soldiers. — In the middle zone are depicted the labors of the Hebrews, the struggle between the Hebrew and the Egyptian and the crime of Moses. To the right we see Moses in the desert and the burning bush. — In the lower zone the Hebrews make bricks, and Moses is rescued from the river.)
(Bibliothèque Nationale.) PARIS.

Fig. 255. — Lombard portrait head.

The two centuries which intervened between their arrival and the Arab invasion were employed largely in the occupation and organization of the country. Beginning with the time of Chindeswinth, however, we find an artistic renaissance; this king showed a genuine love for culture, and his efforts in this direction seem almost out of place in the rude period in which he lived. He sent emissaries to Rome just to copy a single book, and hisfrien ds, St. Isidorus, St. Braulio and Tayo did much to aid his efforts to reawaken an interest in the study of letters and the arts. Two or three books containing miniatures have come down to us from the library of the Visigothic court; one of these is the famous Ashburnham Pentateuch with its beautiful illustrations which was probably produced by the *scriptorium* of St. Isidore of Seville. (Plate XVII.) These pictures often occupy an entire page. Only twenty sheets have been preserved, but the antiquity of the manuscript and its artistic value make it one of the most precious of Western Europe. There is, however, a complete Visigothic Bible in the monastery of La Cava which was brought there from Spain. It has no illustrations, but it is ornamented with illuminated capitals and the crosses and geometrical rosettes typical of barbarian jewelry. The absolute lack of mural paintings in Western Europe dating from this period is no proof that such did not exist at the time. We have literary references to frescos depicting the same subjects found in the illuminated manuscripts. Gregory of

Fig. 256. — Visigothic chest from the abbey of Saint Evreux. *Noli me tangere.* Solomon's judgment. *(Demotte Collection.)* PARIS.

Tours tells us of a matron in Gaul, the wife of St. Namantius, at whose expense a chapel was erected, and who afterward superintended the work of the mural decorators. The themes were taken from the miniatures of a manuscript in her possession. Recently a book has been issued by Prof. Neuss on the miniatures of Spanish Bibles, which clearly proves what we had already presumed, namely, that the variety of illustrations of the Visigothic Bible was immense, and that many of their representations were later copied in the Romanesque Bibles, which give us, almost exactly, the old Spanish iconography, rightly or wrongly interpreted by the copyists.

Summary. — The Germanic tribes, who appear to have originated in Western Siberia, displayed a remarkable love for goldsmith's work. Their jewelry of gold and garnets constitutes the most important artistic product of the barbarian peoples. In the tombs of their warriors we find brooches and arms adorned with gold encrusted with garnets. A Gothic treasure of a religious character has been found near Petrossa in Rumania. A collection of votive crowns has also been discovered near Guarrazar in the province of Toledo, Spain. A number of churches and cathedrals still preserve jewelry dating from this period, such as the treasure of Monza which was largely the gift of Queen Theodelinda. Prior to their settlement in Western Europe the barbarians had no architectural styles of their own. In Ravenna Theodoric constructed a palace, and his tomb at that place is covered with a dome carved from a single block of marble. In Gaul the Merovingians built churches of which we have descriptions in the literature of the period; especially noteworthy was the great basilica of St. Martin at Tours. The only Merovingian monuments that have been preserved, however, are a few small and very modest structures. In Spain the only authentic Visigothic building was, until recently, the small basilica of San Juan de Baños near Valladolid; but we are now able to identify Visigothic churches at Tarrasa and Pedret in Catalonia, and in Castile there are a considerable number of them containing the horseshoe-arches characteristic of this period. There are no Visigothic sculptures in the full round, but two illuminated Spanish manuscripts dating from the Visigothic occupation still exist. One is the beautifully illustrated Ashburnham Pentateuch, and the other is the Bible in the monastery at La Cava which was brought to Italy from Spain at a very early period.

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Fig. 257. — Daniel. Relief on a sarcophagus from Ecija. Seville.

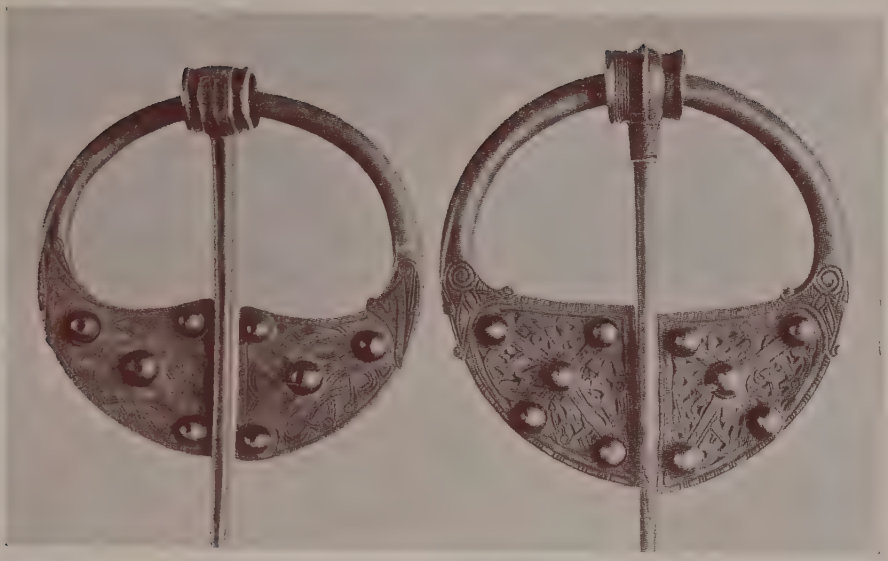

Fig. 258. — Irish brooches. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIAN CELTIC ART IN IRELAND. — STONE CROSSES.
GOLDSMITH'S WORK. — MINIATURES.
SURVIVALS OF CELTIC ART IN THE PEASANT ART OF SCANDINAVIA.

The only regions which were not submerged by the torrent of barbarians were the islands to the northwest of Europe, green Ireland and distant Iceland, and the cold northern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula. Britain was occupied by tribes of Angles and Saxons; Denmark and the South of Sweden were invaded; indeed, all Western Europe was overrun by the barbarian peoples. With comparatively slight dialectic variations, German was now spoken from the Baltic to the Visigothic capital in Spain and the Lombard provinces in Italy.

The aboriginal population of Europe was overwhelmed by this surging mass of Teutons with whom they finally merged. But in the Northwest the old Neolithic culture was little affected and continued to develop along its own lines. Early in the Fifth Century we find in Celtic Ireland a mysterious realm where the ancient prehistoric tribes and clans still held sway. Their warriors, like Fingal, visited or fought with the inhabitants of the frigid volcanic island in the far north and crossed the channel to bring aid to the Celtic tribes of Scotland who still held the Angles in check.

This small and isolated Irish nation was destined to play an important part in the history of European culture. It preserved and developed the ancient traditions of an art native to Europe, the Neolithic art of La Tène. Later, Ireland

Fig. 259. — Towers and crosses of Clonmacnoise. IRELAND.

became the asylum of the culture of the early Latin church, for which the first Germanic invaders displayed little sympathy. In the Sixth and Seventh Centuries Ireland was the providential shelter of the Church, elsewhere so oppressed by the Pagan and Arian Christian barbarians. Irish monks visited France which still lay under the blight of its bloodstained Merovingian kings; they made pilgrimages to Rome where the Pope was virtually a prisoner of the Lombards. Returning to their monasteries in the Emerald Isle, they brought back manuscripts, including the texts of the Church Fathers, to the only spot in Europe where they could be studied undisturbed. Ireland contributed to the Christian faith all the ardor of its romantic spirit and the sincerity of an unspoiled people.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the legend of the conversion of this nation, won over by the preaching of St. Patrick. In the evangelization of this impressionable people the Saint brought to bear every influence that might shake their faith in the ancestral Druid religion. Like the Druids, he went about always dressed in white and rode in a carriage drawn by white stags. He summoned them to prayer with a bell sent to him by the Pope, and the new and unaccustomed sound exerted an almost hypnotic influence upon this susceptible nation. In vain did the Druids vie with the Saint in proofs and miracles; the day finally came when the king and people assembled and accepted Christianity. The consequent development of monastic life in Ireland was extraordinary. In the fertile valleys of the island we still find the ruins of these monasteries surrounded by stone crosses, bell-towers and the remains of the low structures which lay about them. The monks, who at first followed older rules, later became Benedictines, for this was then the only religious order of the Western Church; indeed, one of the principal motives impelling them to make pilgrimages to Italy was their desire to visit the tomb of St. Benedict, the founder of their order, in the monastery of Monte-Cassino near Naples. The Irish cloisters always kept in touch with Monte-Cassino, and when the principal monastery of the order was sacked by barbarians or pillaged by Saracens, the Irish monks fell heir to the classical heritage of the great Italian convent which they piously hoped to restore when more peaceful times should permit.

In the solitude of their northern island these Benedictine monks cultivated Greek and Latin scholarship. Far from the old centres, they expounded the books of the Fathers and classical writers during those years when few besides

themselves were interested in such matters. At a time when it was rare to find at the court of the Franks anyone who could read or write, the Venerable Bede, although Anglo-Saxon, was compiling the knowledge of the ancient world, including that of grammar, music and rhetoric. So it is not to be wondered at that the Irish monks were summoned to the court of Charlemagne to aid in the restoration of civilization in Western Europe which had languished for two centuries amid the invasions of new Germanic tribes and domestic wars. All this is important to the history of art, for these monks brought not only their books and scientific attainments, but also their romantic tastes and original artistic styles. Faithful custodians of a sacred charge, they preserved and added to their knowledge of letters and philosophy; but in matters relating to art their Celtic genius never lost a certain feeling which was diametrically opposed to the classical spirit of Rome, although they were the guardians of its inheritance. The study of Irish art, therefore, is vital, for it contributed greatly to that movement known as the Carolingian renaissance. The latter, in its turn, may be said to be the point of departure of that great French civilization so powerful in Europe during mediaeval times.

Fig. 260. — Cross and tower at Wicklow, Ireland.

Essentially Irish art is nothing more than the continuation and development of that prehistoric Neolithic culture native to Europe and known as that of La Tène. As we have already noted, its best studied centre was in the locality of this name near Lake Neuchâtel. But it extended throughout Europe during the later prehistoric period at a time when the use of flint implements was accompanied by that of metal articles, chiefly bronze. As a matter of fact, the art of La Tène was that of the primitive European peoples whom the ancient historians designated as Celts, a term which we continue to employ, although we are ignorant of its precise meaning. These Celts were long in contact with the Greek colony at Marseilles; the Gauls had besieged Rome in the Fourth Century B.C.; and later, under the leadership of Brennus, they invaded Greece and

Fig. 261. — Celtic crosses at Drumcliffe.

plundered and burned the sanctuary of Delphi. This would account for the palmettes and meanders derived from Hellenic sources which we find in the decorations of La Tène.

Still later, when all Western Europe was divided into Roman provinces, the Celtic art of La Tène became altered almost beyond recognition. Only in Scotland and Ireland, which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire, did the traditions of this ancient prehistoric art persist. Caesar had occasion to observe the Celts in the course of his Gallic wars and came to know them well. He describes their romantic character, the mysterious rites of the Druids carried on in groves by the light of the moon, their sacred oaks and venerated stones. Their monuments were still the great stones set up on end, and the stone circles.

This culture lasted in Ireland until the conversion of that country to Christianity. All the candor and faith of their ingenuous nature was displayed in their acceptance of the new doctrines, but in spite of their enthusiasm they could not entirely lose the old tastes so deeply implanted within them. The Irish monasteries were set within a circular enclosure constructed of great stones like the cromlechs surrounding the prehistoric dolmens. Within the enclosure was the monastery itself with the church close by. In front of the door they erected cylindrical towers which the old chronicles call a *cloicethec,* or house of the bells (figs. 259 and 260, and Plate XVIII).

Most of these Irish monasteries are now in ruins, and some of them have entirely disappeared, but many of the cylindrical towers are still standing. There are more than a hundred of them, and they are unmistakable. They are slightly conical in form, and their small windows suggest that they were used not only as belfries, but also as places of refuge for the monks. They may have served as retreats for fugitives from justice who sought asylum under the protection of the monastery. Nearby we usually find the so-called upright standing crosses. They are of stone and are set upon a large base which is ornamented with interlaced designs and other sculptures. These Irish crosses are evidently very ancient. In the history of the mission of St. Patrick we read that the Saint was

Celtic tower and cross, *Clonmacnoise*. IRELAND.

accustomed to visit a large number of them each day, and they appear to have been set both within and without the circular enclosures of the monasteries, each of them being dedicated to a different saint. Their noticeable abundance rather suggests the idea that they were a continuation in Christian form of the old worship, and that the Celtic tendency toward stone-worship was slow to disappear.

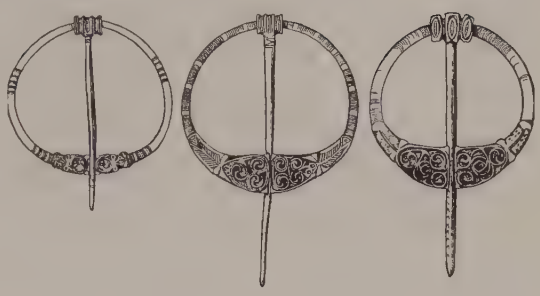

Fig. 262. — Celtic brooches. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

Most important to the history of art is the fact that they are practically covered with relief-carvings in which we see a later development of the interlacing knotwork designs of the art of La Tène. Sometimes these reliefs on the Irish crosses represent Biblical scenes, but for the most part they consist of these complicated patterns (figs. 259, 260 and 261). The actual form of the cross is of unusual beauty; its tall slender support and the small central cross enclosed within a circle often produce an effect of extreme elegance. These crosses are found not only in Ireland, but a number have been preserved in England, the Isle of Man and Scotland as well, a testimony to the spiritual influence of the Irish monks in Great Britain. The saints of the Irish church founded colonies in many parts of Europe, and it was natural that their first missions should have been to the neighboring island. The Abbeys of Jarrow and Lindisfarne were the principal centres of this Irish propaganda in Great Britain. In the consciousness of their superiority, the Irish monks zealously extended their missionary labours, for both science and Biblical knowledge, neglected elsewhere in Europe, had found a refuge in Ireland, and the monasteries of Durrow and Armagh were the only real Occidental universities

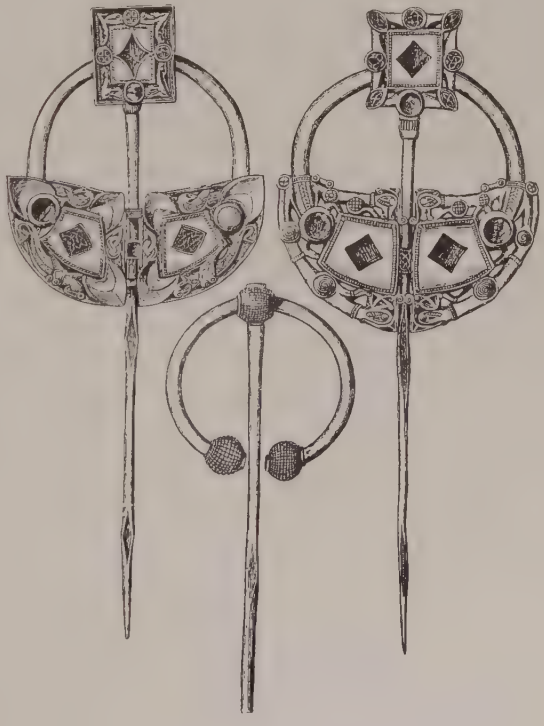

Fig. 263. — Brooches from Ardagh. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

Fig. 264. — The Tara Brooch. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

at this time. All the spiritual energy of Christianity was concentrated in the North, and the Church itself looked upon Ireland as the holy centre of the faith. This movement on the part of Irish monks in the time of Charlemagne must have extended throughout Western Europe. We shall note the important part played by the monasteries of St. Gall in Switzerland, Bobbio in Italy and Fulda on the Rhine, the three great centres of Irish culture on the Continent.

More important than the architecture of these cloisters of which little remains in Ireland except the towers and the upright standing crosses, Celtic Christian art is to be studied chiefly in their goldsmith's work and the miniatures of their manuscripts. The most precious examples of the former that have come down to us plainly reveal a marked predilection for the ancient art of La Tène. The very shape of their fibulae, or brooches, is characteristic of the period of this art, for they consist of a circular ring crossed by the pin itself.

Some of these Irish fibulae appear to be very ancient. The ornamentation of these is not composed of frets, but rather of the scroll-work so typical of the La Tène art (fig. 262). Some of them date from pagan times, prior to the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. The oldest are usually of bronze and are ornamented with the enamels and incrustations of coral employed by the prehistoric peoples of Europe. Later, however, the circular ring was widened on one side, forming a surface on which were inscribed the most complicated decorative patterns imaginable (figs. 258 and 263).

These brooches were used to fasten their mantles, as we see from the figures represented in the relief-carvings and miniatures. Some were of exaggerated size, as much as a foot and a half in diameter, and laws were enacted forbidding the end of the large pin to project too far beyond the body of the wearer.

The most beautiful is the so-called Tara Brooch. It was discovered in 1850 and is now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin (fig. 264). It is of bronze, but is embellished with gold plates which are ornamented with interlaced designs, enamels and pieces of coral. The reproduction is inadequate to convey an idea of the beauty of this masterpiece of the goldsmith's art. The

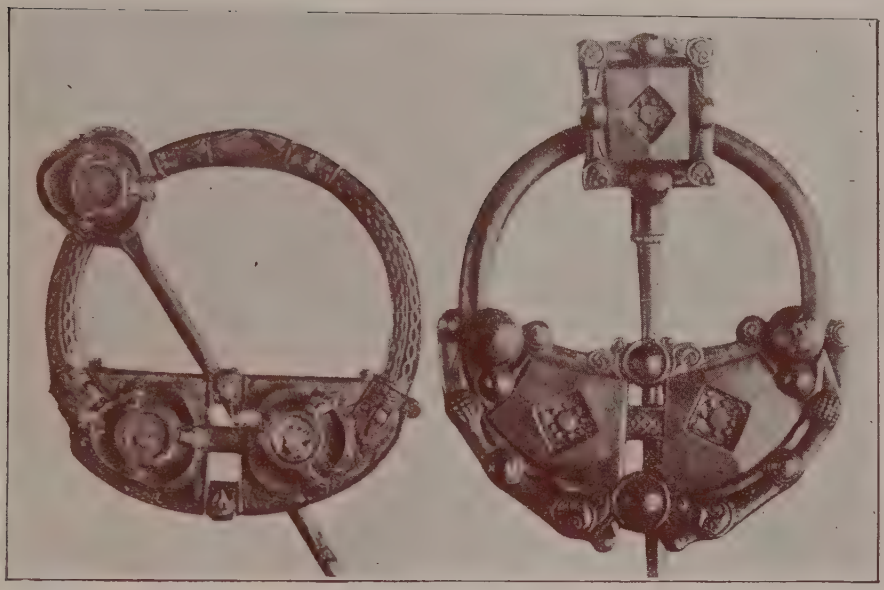

Fig. 265. — Brooches from Cavan and Killamery. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

style of the ornamentation corresponds to that of the miniatures of the manuscripts of the Seventh Century.

In figure 265 we see two charming brooches belonging to the museum at Dublin. One was discovered near Gavan; its annular disk is divided into three parts which form two human heads. The other is the largest of all the Irish fibulae and was found near *Killamery* in 1858.

But the art of the Christian goldsmiths of Ireland was not confined to personal jewels. Indeed, it seems to have been employed chiefly in the manufacture of ritual objects. The richness of the Tara Brooch is rivaled by the famous chalice discovered in Ardagh in 1868 and now in the Dublin Museum (fig. 266). The form of the vessel, the letters of its inscription and the two handles so characteristic of early church plate place it in the Ninth Century. The variety of its interlacing

Fig. 266. — The Ardagh Chalice. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

Fig. 267—Reliquary of St. Patrick's Bell (face).
(Museum of Dublin.)

knotwork designs is marvelous, and the grace and elegance displayed in the outlines of its bands and medallions make it one of the most exquisite pieces of metalwork ever executed in any period of the world's history.

Next to the Tara Brooch and the Ardagh Chalice, the most important example of Irish goldsmith's work is the silver-gilt case which now serves as a reliquary for the famous St. Patrick's Bell, although it is not as ancient as the others. Upon its face are four panels ornamented with interlaced designs and combined with medallions (figure 267), while the back is decorated with a pattern composed of Greek crosses (fig. 268). Around it runs an inscription containing requests for prayers for King Domnal, who ordered it made, for the bishop who succeeded Patrick in the diocese of Armagh, for the keeper of the bell and for Gudulig, his son, who executed the work. The most interesting feature of this piece is the ornament which served as a handle. Here, among the interlaced designs typical of La Tène art, we find dragon-heads in the barbarian, or rather Scandinavian, style. The inscription fixes the date of the bell, for King Domnal O'Lachlaim reigned from 1088 to 1128, and the Bishop of Armagh, whose name also appears in the inscription, officiated from 1091 to 1105. The reliquary, therefore, dates from the end of the Eleventh Century. It was preserved in the ancestral home of the Mulholland family until about thirty years ago, when it was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy for its museum of science and art. The case still contains the "Bell of St. Patrick," a simple bronze hand-bell of no artistic interest and valuable only as a relic of the Saint and a memento of his famous mission.

Fig. 268. — Reliquary of St. Patrick's Bell (reverse).
(Museum of Dublin.)

Another specimen of Celtic goldsmith's work is the cross from the Abbey of Cong, now in the Dublin Museum (fig. 269). This, too, can be dated by the inscription it bears. It is really a reliquary, for it contained a fragment of the True Cross which had been sent by the Pope about the year 1123. The inscription consists of a supplication for the king of Ireland, for a certain bishop of Connaught and finally for the goldsmith who did the work. On its face the arms of the cross are divided into panels ornamented with the same characteristic knotwork pattern and in the centre is to be seen the medallion which contained the relic. The reverse side of the cross, as we may see in the reproduction given in the figure 269, is entirely covered by an uninterrupted design of a similar character.

A masterpiece of Irish art which dates from a more recent period is the crozier of the Abbot of Clonmacnoise. After the community was dissolved, it passed through various hands and was finally added to the handsome collection of Celtic goldsmith's work in the Dublin Museum (fig. 270). This crozier is surmounted by a sort of crest consisting of a series of animals pursuing one another, and at the end of the crook is the mitered figure of an abbot.

Such representations of figures are somewhat rare in Celtic art, and when they do occur, their faulty outlines give them rather the air of an affectation in the work of these artists who were able to combine scrolls and other linear designs with such consummate skill. In the same manner the figures of the apostles and the scenes from the Gospels represented on the upright standing crosses show lack of proportion and extreme poverty of form.

The same is true of their goldsmith's work, and we cannot but conclude

Fig. 269.— The Cross of Cong. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

that the artisans of Christian Ireland, feeling a certain disdain for natural forms, deliberately simplified and conventionalized them in order to produce the effect they desired. As an example of this, we reproduce the cover of a casket made to contain a copy of the Gospels belonging to the Abbey of Devenish, now in the Dublin Museum (figure 271). An inscription containing the name of the abbot who had it made places the date of this piece between 1001 and 1025. The figures of the four Evangelists occupying the panels between the arms of the cross are outlined after the manner of the miniatures in the manuscripts. We observe the same conventionalization in another plate which doubtless ornamented the cover of a book (fig. 272). The exaggerated bell-shaped tunic of the Saviour fastened by three large brooches was doubtless covered with interlaced patterns as were those of the two cherubs and the two saints below.

The portable ritual objects of metal were unquestionably the principal vehicle for the spread of Celtic artistic forms on the Continent, especially in the Irish monastic colonies which were established throughout Western Europe, as we have already noted. Possibly another effective means for the dissemination of these interlacing knotwork designs of Celtic art was the manuscripts. These Irish monks who had compiled nearly all the available knowledge of the classical and Christian world were inspired by a love for books that was rare at that period, and much of their activity consisted in the illumination of new copies of manuscripts and the embellishment of their texts with miniatures. These books were carried to the monasteries of Italy and Germany, where they probably formed the nucleus of the libraries of Bobbio, Fulda and St. Gall, the three most famous manuscript collections in the Carolingian period.

The monks of Ireland must have begun to devote themselves to the art of calligraphy at a very early period. The oldest Celtic codex that is ornamented with miniatures is believed to be the one in the collection of Trinity College. It is known as the Book of Durrow and came from the monastery of St. Columbanus. It dates from the Seventh Century, and we are strongly reminded by it of the art of La Tène, for interlaced designs adorn the capitals and the margins of the pages (fig. 273).

The Book of Lindisfarne is another famous example of Irish ecclesiastical

art. The manuscript was copied by Eadfrith, Archbishop of Lindisfarne, between the years 698 and 721 and is now in Dublin, although it is from a famous Irish monastery in England. The Book of Kells is the best executed of this period. Its capitals are also richly illuminated with typical Celtic designs, and its miniatures often fill entire pages. The figures of these Celtic miniatures, like those on the upright standing crosses, are badly proportioned. Their short bodies and long necks almost give them the appearance of larvae. (Plate XIX.)

The decorations of the miniatures of the Book of Durrow display the curled and twisted shapes which archaeologists call "the trumpet spiral ornament," and which are characteristic of the art of La Tène. Later, this type of ornament became more regular and took the form of symmetrical interlaced designs. It is evident that when it came in contact with the Romanized European world, the ancient Celtic art began to acquire a feeling for symmetry, and their patterns were gradually reduced to a simple pattern consisting of intersections of parallel lines, not unlike the plaits of a basket. Already in the Fourth Century, Roman art began to show a certain predilection for combinations of geometrical forms in mosaics and sculptures. The Byzantines adopted this feature with enthusiasm, so when the Irish monks arrived in Italy, a land already influenced by Byzantine tendencies, they found there an

Fig. 270. — The Crozier of Clonmacnoise. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

Fig. 271. — Evangelistary. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

Fig. 272.—Bronze plates intended for the cover of an evangelistary. *(Museum of Dublin.)*

art which was much more comprehensible to them than the classical Roman art. Here were interlaced designs, although they were more geometrical in character than those of their own art, that of La Tène. From this time on, the old Celtic art began to lose its characteristic curved and twisted forms and adopted patterns resembling those of the interwoven splints of a basket. All this is rather important, for there has been more or less discussion as to the possible origin of this late Roman tendency, and it has been ascribed to the geometrical decorative art of La Tène. As a matter of fact, it was the Celtic art which came under Low Latin influences in the early Middle Ages.

In the course of its spread, Celtic art would naturally be affected by that of the barbarian peoples among whom the Irish monks established their colonies. The latter, which was the most powerful and nearest artistic influence with which they came in contact, could not but have its effect upon the purely geometrical interlaced patterns of the Celts. As we have already noted, the Germanic peoples did quite the contrary to the Celts; they loved to end their ornaments in zoomorphic forms and convert geometrical designs into serpent bodies and twisted dragons.

Fig. 273.—Illuminated capital from the Book of Durrow.

This new tendency was introduced into Ireland by Scandinavian invaders, the Norwegian and Danish sea-rovers called Vikings, who frequently landed on the shores of Ireland. The clash between these two opposing forces, the Irish monks who were civilizers and the warlike Northmen, resulted in a combination of their styles. Germanic art became permeated with Celtic interlaced designs, while Celtic art frequently adopted the ornamental serpent heads and dragons with open jaws. The marginal ornaments of the manuscripts often end in such features, and they were the more readily imitated by the German copyists who had never lost their propensity for zoomorphic decorations. Scandinavian art, on the other hand, appropriated the Celtic interwoven patterns. A school

The Virgin and Child. *(Miniature of the Book of Kells.)*

Fig. 274.—Burying-galley of a Viking chieftain found at Oseberg. SWEDEN.

of art employing this combination of elements still exists in Norway and Sweden. The wooden architecture of these countries furnished wood-carvers with an opportunity to decorate their panels with the most complicated line designs imaginable. Some of the door and window cases ornamented with the same profusion of interlaced designs are preserved in the museums of Bergen and Christiania; these have been taken from peasant's homes and small rural churches. Prominent among the painted wooden relief carvings for which these people were famous were the celebrated Viking ships which spread terror along every European coast. Their plundering expeditions extended up the Seine as far as Paris; literally riding the seas, they sacked the coasts of Galicia and even attacked Lisbon and Seville. The Moorish chronicles of Spain furnish us with detailed accounts of their terror inspiring raids into Andalusia. St. Olaf, the famous Northman pirate, turned back at the ancient Roman monument and statue that stood at the Pillars of Hercules near Cadiz, marking the straits which the superstitious beliefs of the time considered impassable, but later, the Normans made expeditions to the Balearic Islands and even captured Barbastro, the principal fortress on the Moorish frontier of Aragon.

Fig. 275. — Detail of the preceding figure.

The Viking leaders were buried in their magnificent galleys, two of which have been found in an excellent

state of preservation and are now in the Museum of Christiania. The prows end in strange intertwined monsters, and the strips along the gunwales as well as the ornaments of the gangways are decorated in a manner that is at once fantastic and beautiful (figs. 274 and 275).

When they fell in foreign lands, the Viking chieftains were unostentatiously buried with their arms and jewels. A number of Viking tumuli discovered in England have yielded brooches, earrings and the bronze medallions that embellished their shields and breastplates (fig. 276).

It is especially interesting to note that among the peasants of Scandinavia there still exists an art which reminds us of the two cultures which may be said to be genuinely European, the prehistoric art of La Tène which continued to develop in Ireland in historical times, and that of the Germanic peoples which was superimposed upon it and was finally merged with it. In the next chapter we shall observe the reaction of these two elements to the influence of the Roman forms in the time of Charlemagne.

Summary. — Ireland, which remained outside of the area invaded by the Germanic tribes, continued to develop without interruption the ancient European art called that of La Tène. This style is characterized by its interlaced ornaments and scroll-work, combined with the utmost freedom of the imagination. Upon their conversion to Christianity, the Celts of Ireland applied their long established technique to the fashioning of personal jewels and ritual objects, the style of which is characteristic of this people. The finest of these are the Tara brooch, the reliquary called the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell and the Cross of Cong. In reproducing human figures, however, the Irish artists display an ineptitude which almost suggests a certain contempt. This is true both of their metal-work and of the miniatures with which their manuscripts are embellished. The latter are also executed in the style characteristic of their art, the outstanding feature of which is the interlacing knotwork designs already mentioned. The Irish monks enjoyed almost a complete monopoly of the sacred and profane knowledge of this period, for the dissemination of which they later established religious colonies in many parts of Europe. Their monasteries in Italy and Germany became centres from which this Celtic Christian art was spread throughout the Continent, and their styles and forms even became popular in the lands where classical art had formerly flourished.

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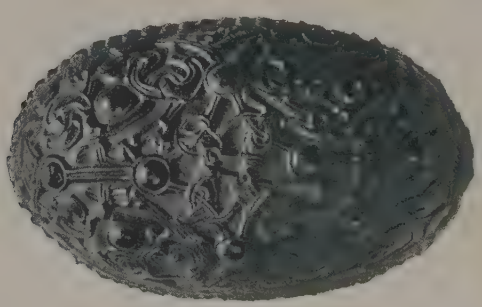


Fig. 276. — Scandinavian brooch. *(British Museum.)*

Fig. 277. — Interior of the palace chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle with its modern mosaics.

CHAPTER IX

CAROLINGIAN ART. — CHARLEMAGNE'S BUILDINGS AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERIES. — THE MAGISTRI COMACINI OF LOMBARDY. CAROLINGIAN ART UNDER CHARLEMAGNE'S SUCCESSORS. — RELIEFS AND MINIATURES.

All that Western Europe had retained of its classical traditions, whatever remained of the art which the Germanic peoples had brought from their homes on the steppes, and the artistic principles of the Celts which had been preserved by the Irish Church, were now to be found at the court of Charlemagne, the great promoter of the culture of the Middle Ages. We may consider this period the turning-point of European civilization which from now on began to improve, and it is interesting to note the various elements which contributed to its formation. As it happened, the Emperor, his barons, court dignitaries, prelates and the other outstanding figures of the new Empire, were for the most part of Germanic origin. Many of them were barbarians, it is true, but they were not without a curious admixture of classical culture. Like Theodoric and Chindaswinth, the King of the Franks was a barbarian chieftain, and although, like the others, he strove to rid himself of his Germanic traits, yet at heart he was always a Teuton warrior desirous of assimilating the ancient civilization

Fig. 278. — Elevation of the palace chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle.

which he recognized as a superior culture.

Political conditions of the time, and especially the desire of the Pope to enlist in his cause an open-hearted champion who would defend the Church from the attacks of the other barbarian peoples, made this young Frankish monarch the most prominent figure in Western Europe and attracted to his court the best elements of the ecclesiastical organization, the inheritors of the old culture of the State Church of Rome. Italy was exhausted; Rome, but the phantom of its former greatness; and the other provinces of the West were powerless to bear the torch which was to illuminate the world. Northern Africa and Spain had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, and only a few of the Spanish bishops of the Visigothic Church remained who, like Theodulf, had fled to Charlemagne for protection. Little was to be expected from Germany, and the Emperor summoned to his court the missionaries from Ireland, who alone had preserved a love for science and retained a sufficient knowledge of sacred literature, to be the schoolmasters of the second Roman Empire. The most famous of Charlemagne's ministers and the real inspirer of the educational reformation and much of the artistic initiative of this period was an Irish monk named Alcuin of York. His correspondence with the Emperor is still a testimony to the great efforts made by these two men to restore civilization in the West. Theodulf was a Visigoth, Alcuin a Celt, and Einhard and Angilbert, two other of the Emperor's councillors, were Germans. We see the court of Charlemagne, like that of the Roman Empire, transformed into an international organization, and the art of the period possessed the same character; it was the combined product of a number of very different schools.

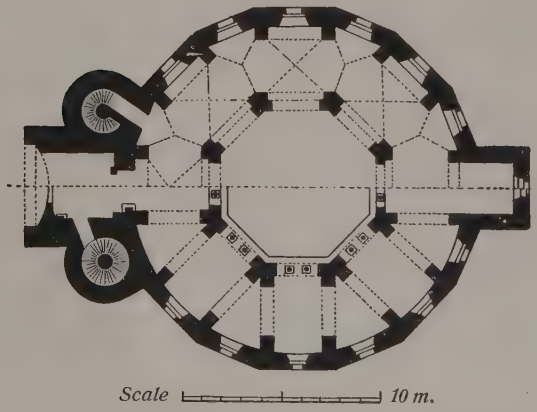


Fig. 279. — Plan of the palace chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The most important architectural achievement of Charlemagne, a building that still remains almost intact, is the chapel of the imperial palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, a small town which he chose for his cap-

Fig. 280. — Interior of the palace chapel of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle.

ital as being most centrally located. It is a little to the west of the Rhine. This palace chapel must have seemed a remarkable monument at the time it was built; indeed, the writers of the period speak of it as a marvelous structure. "Unable to obtain marbles and columns," writes one of these, "he sent to Rome and Ravenna." We still have the letter of Pope Adrian in which he gives the Emperor permission to take marbles and flags from the palace at Ravenna for the work at Aix-la-Chapelle. *"Marmores quamquam mosivo de eodem palatio vobis concedimos abstollendum."* The plan and general form of the building were evidently copied from S. Vitale at Ravenna (figs. 278 and 279). The church is octagonal with a central cupola, but unlike that of S. Vitale which was made lighter by means of its pottery construction, it was entirely of stone and therefore not so high. The octagonal ambulatory which surrounds the space beneath

Fig. 281. — Interior of the church at Germigny-des-Près.

the dome resists the lateral pressure of the central mass and is also constructed of massive vaults. At the corners of the octagon stand great stone piers. Between these are arches, those of the upper stories being divided into smaller ones which rest upon columns. The vaults are covered with mosaics; indeed, it is quite possible that the Emperor summoned Byzantine artists to line the bare tunnel-vaults of the ambulatory and the cold hemispherical shell of the dome with a rich gold covering (fig. 280). These polychrome decorations had long since disappeared, but they were handsomely restored a few years ago at the expense of the German Emperor (fig. 277).

The architect who directed the work at Aix-la-Chapelle was Udo of Metz, and the biographers of Charlemagne tell us of the efforts he made to secure the most skilful artisans in the Empire. During the long periods which the Emperor spent at Aix he worshipped daily in this church which was dedicated to St. Mary. Here he passed the declining years of his life and was buried; his bones are still in a precious shrine.

The church was connected with the palace by a portico in which were displayed the artistic spoils of the provinces he conquered, among them a bronze eagle wearing a crown and with outstretched wings and an equestrian statue of Theodoric which he had brought from Ravenna.

The church of St. Mary was not the only important building which Charlemagne constructed at his capital. Indeed, Aix-la-Chapelle was called the "New Rome" by the writers of the period. According to his chronicler, Einhard, the

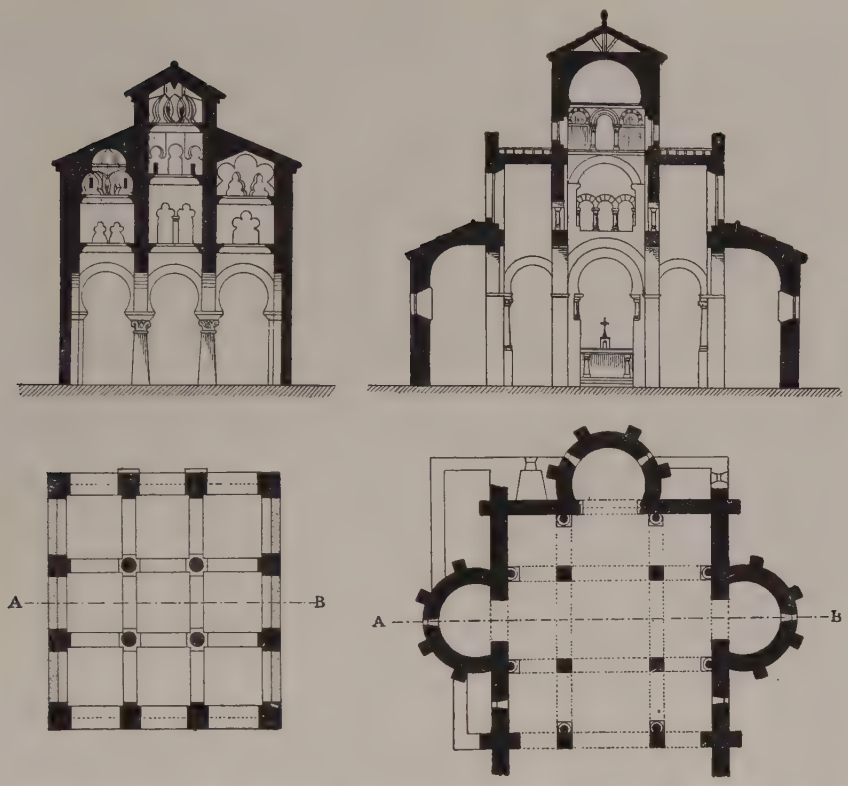


Fig. 282.—Comparison of the church of Cristo de la Luz with that of Germigny-des-Près. *(Lampérez.*

Emperor undertook a number of architectural enterprises in other places in order to commemorate his reign. Descriptions have come down to us of his palaces at Nijmwegen and Ingelheim, also his most famous public works such as the great bridge over the Rhine at Mainz and the unfinished canal which was to connect the Rhine with the Danube. But the efforts of Charlemagne were not unseconded; he had many ministers, associates and collaborators who imitated the example set by their monarch. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, built at Germigny-des-Près a church which is still standing. It consists of a small lofty cupola with surrounding aisles and is the only authentic monument in France that has come down to us from the time of Charlemagne (fig. 281). Theodulf wrote a detailed poetical description of his church; in his eyes everything was a fitting subject for a poem. This literary bishop tells us that he was born in Spain, and we know he must have been one of the last survivors of the Visigothic Church, who, as we have already noted, took refuge in France. His culture seems to have been unusual even for the court of Charlemagne. After Alcuin he was probably the best educated of any of the friends of the Emperor, and none surpassed him in his love for beauty. He himself tells us how an attempt was once made to win his favor by the bribe of an antique Greek vase from Provence on which the story of Hercules was painted.

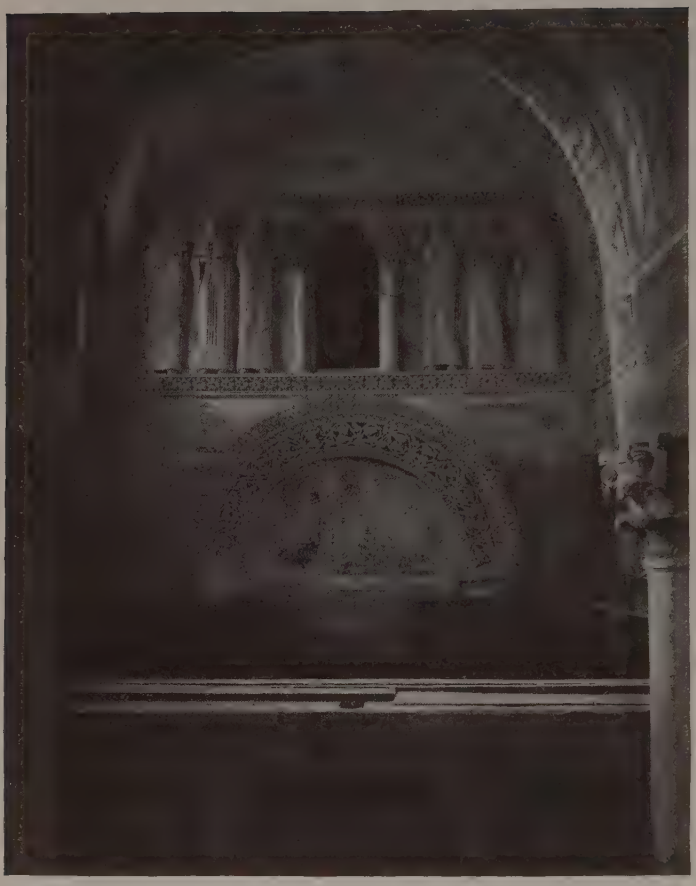


Fig. 283.— Stucco ornamentation of S. Maria in Valle. Cividale del Friuli.

It is especially interesting to note that here in the Frankish court Theodulf still preserved the traditions of Visigothic culture in Spain. In the church at Puy and in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris are two beautiful Bibles, both of which were copied and illuminated under his personal supervision. In both of them we find the old Spanish version instead of the Celtic version taken from the Vulgate which Alcuin proposed. As Lampérez has observed, the church of Germigny-des-Près is purely Visigothic in character, and its plan and elevation are very similar to that of Cristo de la Luz in Toledo (fig. 282).

Theodulf was not the only cultured Visigoth at the Carolingian court. Another noble named Witiza was also of Spanish origin. He founded a monastery at Aniane and was one of the most influential persons at the court of Louis the Pious. Spanish manuscripts have also been found among those of the Abbey of Gellone, afterward called that of Saint Guilhem-le-Desert near Aniane.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the most powerful artistic influence of Charlemagne's time was that of the Irish monks. The Emperor and his collaborators decorated their buildings and the miniatures of their manuscripts with the interlaced ornaments and geometrical patterns which the monks from Ireland traced out for their artisans and illuminators to follow and which were much more suited to the Germanic taste than were the foliage and other patterns of the Roman entablatures.

Fig. 284. — The relief of the Virgins. *S. Maria in Valle.* Cividale del Friuli.

Fig. 285. — Grapevine frieze. *S. Maria in Valle.* Cividale del Friuli.

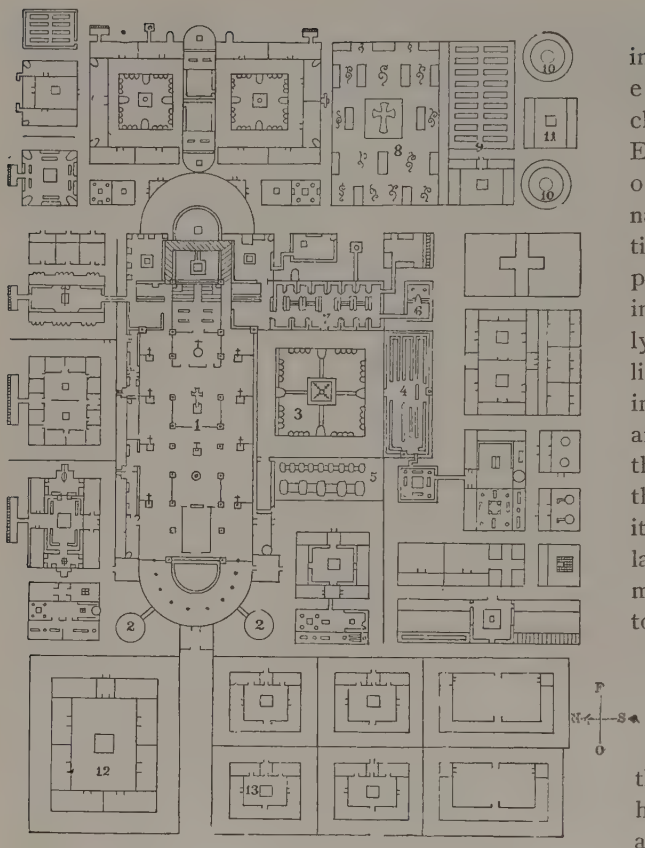


Fig. 286. — Plan of an abbey. *Library of S. Gall.*

In the eastern provinces of Charlemagne's empire, which were closer to the Byzantine Empire, we find another influcnce dominating, that of the Christian art of Constantinople. These opposing influences can be clearly distinguished in the little town of Cividale in Friuli. This was the ancient Forum Iulii of the Romans, and during the Carolingian period it was the capital of a large duchy, one of the most important feudatories of the Empire. The small baptistery of Cividale is a barbarian monument erected by the Teuton bishop and has been preserved almost intact until our times with its altars and baptismal fonts covered with reliefs which consist of curved and interlaced barbarian patterns.

A little later another structure was erected at Cividale the precise date of which is uncertain. This is the small church of S. Maria which is entirely covered with stucco reliefs, but here the dominant influence is already Byzantine. The interlaced geometrical designs of the marble slabs of the baptistery are succeeded by delightful stucco friezes on the little church. Oriental influences are very much in evidence. Stucco relief decorations are quite characteristic of Byzantine art; we still find a number of them in an excellent state of preservation in the Byzantine church at Parenzo (fig. 195). Those of S. Maria have an extraordinary charm. Their beauty is such that Cividale is still a place of importance (fig. 283). Above the door is a frieze of maidens with erect figures, their tunics hanging in long straight folds. There are three of them on each side of a central niche in the shadow of which is the seated figure of a bishop (fig. 284).

Upon the archivolt over the doorway is a grapevine frieze in which the symmetrical curves of the delicately conventionalized tendrils follow one another in orderly repetition, and the entire design has the repose so characteristic of Byzantine art (fig. 285).

PHOTO OF THE ROTOGRAPHIC CO.

Fig. 287. — S. Ambrogio. MILAN.

Now that the missionaries from Ireland had relinquished the task of restoring civilization to the Germanic peoples, the great centres of intellectual activity during the Carolingian period would naturally be the abbeys which the Irish monks had either founded or reorganized. The most celebrated of these were Fulda at the tomb of St. Boniface and S. Gall in Switzerland. Of their buildings little remains today, and we can judge of them only from the accounts found in their precious illuminated manuscripts to which the modern libraries of Europe fell heir when the abbeys themselves were destroyed.

From S. Gall we have a document which is most unique in its way, and it is possible that is the very plan which Einhard turned over to the abbot to whom he entrusted the construction of the group of buildings which were to house this great religious community (fig. 286). This plan, dating from the period of which we are writing, is of the utmost value, for not only does it show the arrangement of the monastery and the relative position of its annexes, but it also contains a projection of certain portions of the elevation, such as the arches of the cloister which are round and are interrupted by a larger arch in the middle of each side. About the cloister (3) are grouped the various buildings. On one side is the great church (1) with its apse and two belfries (2). This was the most important building in the abbey. In one apse was the choir, and in the other, the altar with its confession, or crypt, containing the holy relics. On the other three sides of the cloister were the wine-presses (4), the cellars (5), the kitchen (6) and the refectory (7), and we also see in the plan the location of the fireplaces which

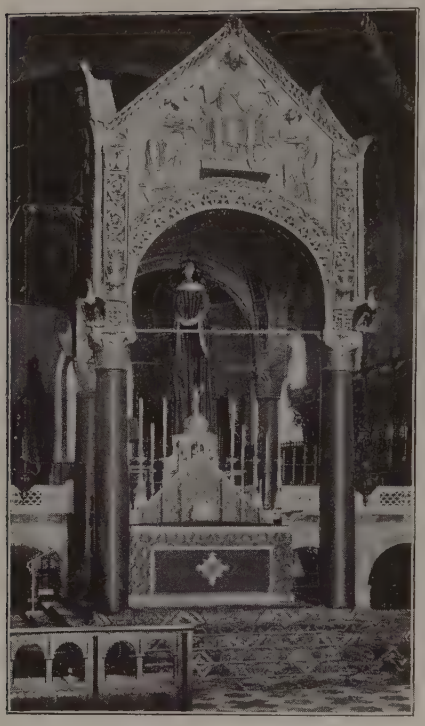


Fig. 288. — Ciborium in S. Ambrogio. MILAN.

were set beneath an opening in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Behind the church were the cemetery and the farms. These communities of Benedictine monks were, first of all, agricultural colonies, and it is interesting to note the large amount of space given over to vegetable gardens (9), mills (10), cisterns (11) and the stables and barns (12 and 13). The plan contains annotations which explain the use of the various annexes, and it is so complete that without it, it would be impossible to reconstruct an abbey of the Carolingian period.

The Irish monks came to exert an influence upon all the art of the Benedictine monasteries. Even Monte Cassino itself adopted the artistic tastes of the Celts, and from this centre the styles of the Irish Church with their interlaced patterns and complicated ornamentation of grotesque zoomorphic forms spread throughout Southern Italy. Owing to its position between Rome and Naples and its historic prestige, Monte Cassino became the agency for the dissemination of the ideas and tastes of the monks from Ireland among all the monasteries of the order, and the art of the Benedictines became characterized by a style which was derived from the monasteries of Erin.

Later we find the same thing occurring in Monte Cassino which we have already noted at Cividale; the great abbey abandoned its Carolingian art and turned anew to Byzantium which was ever the schoolmaster of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. Under the successors of Charlemagne, the Western Empire became enfeebled, and Constantinople recovered its prestige in the Occident. It was to the latter city that the abbot, Desiderius, sent for artisans when he wished to restore the abbey in 1065. From Byzantium came sculptors, architects and painters who after they had executed their commissions at Monte Cassino, built, painted and carved, as the chronicle tells us, *per castella et eremos*.

During the period of Western European history which we call the Carolingian and which includes the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, a school was being formed in Lombardy which was to become famous. This school of architecture was later to play a most important part in the formation of Romanesque art and consisted of certain groups of master-masons called the Magistri Comacini, for their principal centre was the little town of Como on the lake of that name a short distance from Milan. There is a tradition that when Rome was sacked by

Fig. 289. — Frontal of the altar. *S. Ambrogio.* Milan.

Alaric in 410, the guild of master-masons fled from the Eternal City and took refuge on an island in Lake Como. Here in Northern Italy these Roman exiles are supposed to have preserved the secrets of their profession at a time when architecture as an art had generally fallen into oblivion, and they were later summoned to distant parts of the country and even beyond the Alps. We know that their technique in the construction of vaults, domes and campaniles was imitated among the Latin nations which grew out of the dismemberment of the Empire of Charlemagne.

When the Lombards occupied Northern Italy they soon recognized the importance of this colony of master-masons of Como, and they promulgated for their protection a code of laws which has come down to us. The first of these are two edicts issued by King Lothair in 643 which covered the responsibility of masters

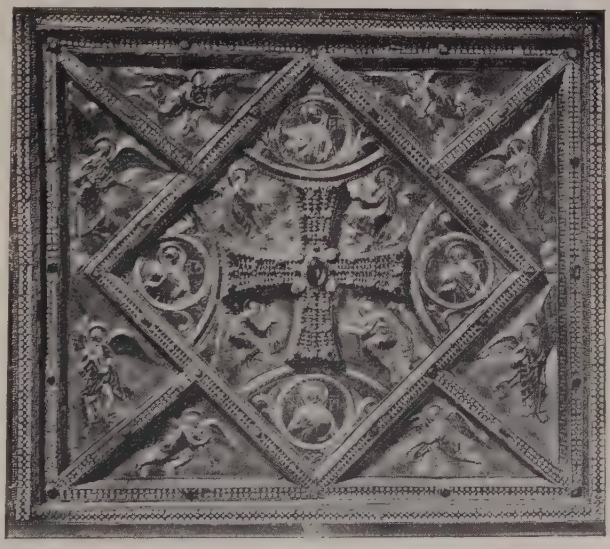


Fig. 290. — Side of the altar. *S. Ambrogio.* Milan.

Fig. 291. — La Sainte Foy. *Treasure of Conques.*

and workmen in connection with building accidents. Eighty years later, the code of Luitprand contained a collection of statutes relating to the foundation of the guild of master-masons, or *Magistri Casarii,* fixing the prices to be charged for the construction of walls, vaults and arches, and for carpentry and stucco-work. The especial skill required in constructing vaults is seen in the remuneration allowed, which was fifteen or eighteen times as much as for ordinary wall-building.

The specialty for which the Magistri Comacini became so famous was the construction of vaults. The area of the hall or nave was divided into squares by transverse arches, and each square was covered by a groined vault supported by diagonal arches extending from corner to corner. The latter rested upon columns which were enlarged so as to form a clustered column, or pier. This is quite unlike the cylindrical or square pillar of Roman architecture. Nor did the Romans ever employ the diagonal arch. The great innovation of these Lombard architects, therefore, consisted in the introduction of the diagonal arch, or rib, which contributed to the support of the vault.

The most ancient of these clustered, or compound, columns so characteristic of Lombard architecture were discovered in Milan in 1869 while excavating the foundations of a bank. Some inscriptions were also uncovered which date from the first half of the Eighth Century. Others have since been found in S. Ambrogio at Milan, S. Michele at Pavia and many other buildings of the same type which were constructed by the master-masons of Lombardy, both in Italy and elsewhere. S. Ambrogio in Milan and S. Michele in Pavia are very similar to one another and were without doubt the first important churches to be built in this style. The precise date of the erection of these Lombard monuments has been the subject of considerable controversy among archaeologists.

The church of S. Ambrogio at Milan is now a Latin basilica consisting of a nave and two aisles. Each of the square sections, or bays, into which it is divided

is covered with groined vaults supported by diagonal arches. But in front of the apse was an octagonal cupola which has since been destroyed. In the very original plan of this church we see more freedom in the arrangement of the various elements than in the palace chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was after all but a poor imitation of S. Vitale in Ravenna. In this respect the Magistri Comacini show themselves to be decidedly the superiors of the architects whom Einhard and Charlemagne employed in the embellishment of the Carolingian capital.

Fig. 292. — The soul of the just man under the protection of the Lord. Book-cover. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

The plan of S. Ambrogio is already that of a Romanesque church, as we shall see later on. It was the first example of a type followed by countless other churches. It is difficult to say how much truth there is in the legend of the emigration of a guild of masons from Rome to Como, but there is no doubt that the Magistri Comacini had made a careful study of the old Roman basilicas, some of which were roofed with groined vaults (although there were no diagonal arches) and combined this system of vaulting with a dome. Furthermore, in certain important Roman structures like the amphitheatre at Nimes, the barrel-vaults are reenforced at intervals with main arches which form the skeleton of the Lombard vault.

Another specialty of the Lombard architects was the ornamentation of the building with features of a purely structural character. The reenforcing arches, for example, rest upon supports partly sunk into the wall, forming engaged compound columns, and these add a certain variety to the interior of the structure. The exterior walls are ornamented with projecting stone bands or blind arches which form a cornice as in the buildings of Ravenna. On the campaniles these small arcades occur at the top of each story, dividing the tower into a number of horizontal bands. On the outer wall of the apse, pilasters and bands are combined with the blind arcade of the cornice.

Figs. 293, 294 and 295.—Book-covers. *(Library of S. Gall.)*

The buildings of the Lombard masters are also ornamented with sculptures on the capitals of the columns and bands of reliefs above the doors containing grotesque monsters and interlaced designs. We are still ignorant of the origin of many of these decorative forms employed by the Lombard builders. At times there is in them much that is Germanic, or barbarian, and again we note influences that are unmistakably Byzantine. In S. Ambrogio, for example, the pulpit is decorated entirely with barbarian interlaced patterns, while over the high altar is a beautiful ciborium supported by four marble columns (fig. 288), its upper part encrusted with stucco decorations that are purely Byzantine like those of S. Maria at Cividale. The gold frontal of the altar is a brilliant example of the same style. On it we see represented the twelve annual festivals and the glorification of the Lord (fig. 289). On the sides of the altar are figures of the Evangelists, angels and seraphs (fig. 290).

The reliefs of Cividale and S. Ambrogio are the more interesting to us because we have no monumental sculptures dating from the Carolingian period. The small bronze statue supposed to represent Charlemagne, recently identified in the Carnavalet Museum at Paris, may be considered purely exceptional. A finer specimen of the same character is the remarkable reliquary image called

Figs. 296 and 297. — Two Evangelists. Miniatures from the Evangelistary of Lorsch. *(Vatican Library.)*

the Sainte Foy in the little church at Conques in Auvergne. The figure is of gold repoussé and is profusely encrusted with antique cameos and precious stones as well as other more modern ornaments (fig. 291).

In Carolingian art as in that of Constantinople, sculpture can be studied only in relief carvings, chiefly ivories. The carved ivory plaques were employed mostly as book-covers, for the period is noted for its handsome books. Further on we shall see the high esteem in which these manuscripts were held by the royal family and the dignitaries of the court. One of the handsomest of the Carolingian ivories is the carving which formed the centre of the cover of a psalter or evangelistary (fig. 292). It is a plastic illustration of the Ninety First Psalm: "For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy

Fig. 298. — An Evangelist. Miniature of the Latin Codex 257. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

Fig. 299. — The monks of Marmoutier presenting a Bible to Charles the Bald. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

foot against a stone". Two lions open their jaws; the wicked gaze upon the saved soul of the just man who rests in the arms of an angel, while they fall into the ditch digged by themselves.

We do not know the artist who carved this exquisite piece of work, but two other book-covers have been preserved which were executed by a monk named Totilus who was a member of the community at S. Gall, Switzerland. He is mentioned a number of times in the chronicles of this Benedictine abbey (figs. 293, 294 and 295). This monk, who on one of his book-covers recommends himself to the piety of his successors, possessed unusual taste and imagination. The subjects of his work are often local legends of the patron saint of his monastery for which no repertory existed from which he could copy, and he was obliged to produce original compositions of his own.

In Plate XX, below the Assumption of the Virgin we see the patron saint of the abbey in a forest where he is ministered to by a bear. On the cover of an evangelistary (Plate XXI) the subject is a more ordinary one. It is the traditional representation so often seen in the miniatures of the glorification of the Lord in an almond-shaped nimbus surrounded by angels and seraphs. Beneath are Earth and Sea and in the angles are the four Evangelists. Three of the latter are writing while the fourth is cutting his pen, just as we so often see them in the miniatures.

The prinicipal art of the Carolingian period, indeed, we might almost say the only one, was the painting of miniatures. We have already noted how few architectural works worthy of mention have been preserved from Charlemagne's time or that of his immediate successors. Except for the palace chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, the stuccos of Cividale and the works of the Lombard architects of this period, little remains besides the little church of Theodulf at Germigny-des-Près. The old buildings of S. Gall are all gone, Monte Cassino too, and Fulda was partially rebuilt in later times. Of Carolingian sculpture, as we have already seen, only a number of ivory carvings have been preserved, and these

Evangelistary-cover carved by the monk Totilus. *(Library of S. Gall.)*

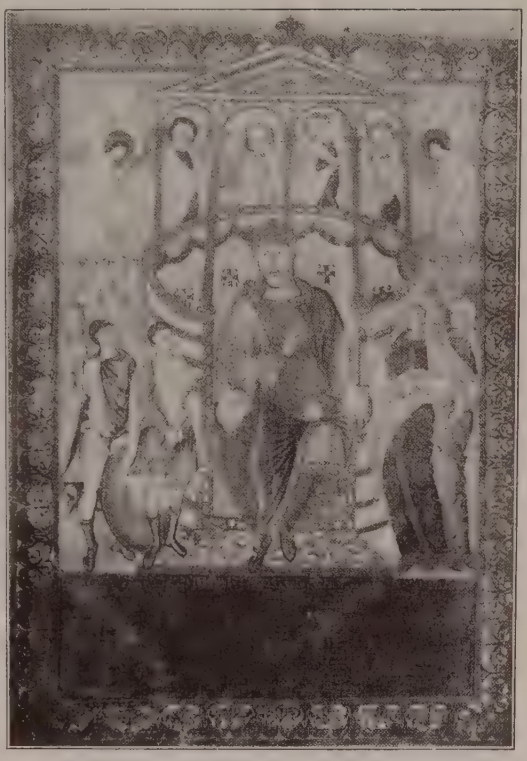


Fig. 300. — Frontispiece of the Bible of Charles the Bald. *S. Paul fuori le Mura.* Rome.

are mostly book-covers. Practically no large paintings have come down to us. The dome at Aix-la-Chapelle was decorated with mosaics and some remain in the church at Germigny-des-Près, but these are of little importance in comparison with the work of the illuminators of the manuscripts. Old books always inspired the greatest enthusiasm in Charlemagne, his friends, ministers and other associates, and they were greatly concerned over the correction of the ancient texts. Alcuin in person directed the attempt to restore the original version of the Vulgate of St. Jerome. We can readily understand that the part taken by the Emperor in what we might call the new editions of this period would result in clear copies and profuse illustration wherever possible. It was customary in Western Europe at this time to use the handsome violet-colored parchment which, as we have already seen, was popular during the first centuries of Christianity and in the period of transition, as in the purple codex of the cathedral of Rossano. Moreover the emperors and their associates followed the custom already noted in the Byzantine manuscripts of having their portraits painted on the first page of the books intended for their own use. These were surrounded with pictures of members of the court and symbolical figures offering homage to the pretended universal dominion of the monarch.

The first modern scholar to make a serious study of the Carolingian manuscripts was the Comte de Bastard who, fifty years ago, reproduced the entire repertory of the miniatures in a series of reasonably faithful engravings. Without the text, these fill a large unwieldy portfolio, but they are still extremely useful, for they constitute the only complete survey of the Carolingian illustrations.

Next in importance to the work of Bastard is the collaboration of Corssen, Janitschek and a number of other erudite German scholars who based their study of the Carolingian miniatures upon the most beautiful Carolingian codex that has come down to us. This manuscript belonged to a member of the imperial family and is called the Codex of Ada, the supposed sister of Charlemagne.

Fig. 301. — Miniature in the Bible of Charles the Bald. *S. Paul fuori le Mura*. Rome.

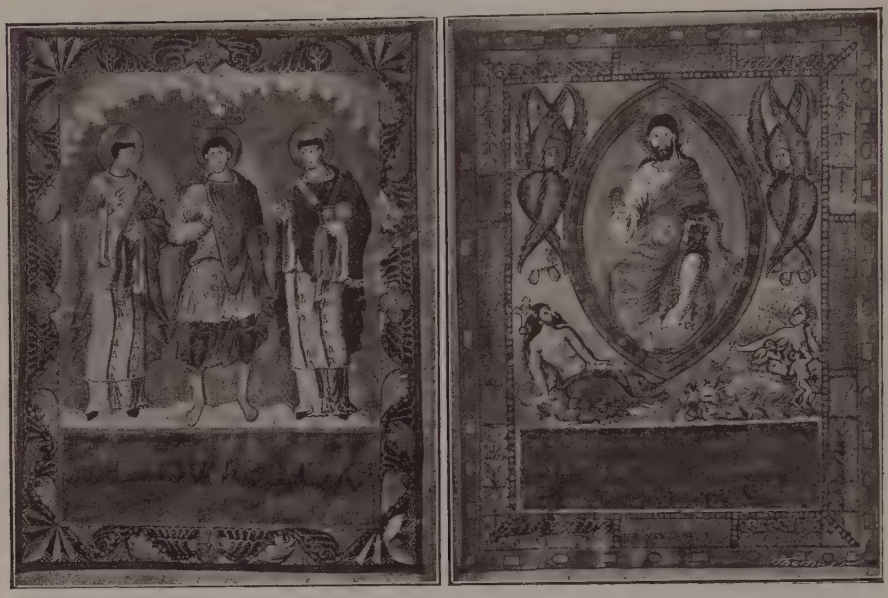
It is now in the museum of the cathedral at Trèves.

Corssen's work has been followed in recent years by a long series of valuable monographs in which we find a number of hypotheses and schemes for classifying the manuscripts according to the localities from which they are supposed to have come, but many of the problems involved are far from being solved. Not only are the manuscripts very numerous, but they were produced during a long period of time and come from every part of the great Empire, many of the provinces of which preserved their own local traditions. For example, the miniatures of the two Evangelists in the Lorsch manuscript, now in the Vatican (figs. 296 and 297), belong to the same school as the Codex of Ada, now in Trèves. Each of these Evangelists sits within a classical doorway; they have an attitude that is at once calm and dignified and are dressed in magnificently embroidered garments. In another manuscript (fig. 298) we see a marked Celtic influence. Here the Evangelist turns nervously as if to listen to the angel who speaks to him from the clouds. It is interesting to note that the type of the seated Evangelist writing at his desk began to evolve during the first period of Christian art. We later find it in the Syriac codex of Rabbula which dates from the Sixth Century, in the Evangelistary of Rossano and the Byzantine miniatures. As in classical art, it was the fixed types which became the most beautiful productions of the Middle Ages. Once freed from the task of creating the type, the artist could, without abandoning the prescribed form, find that variety of expression which is the only absolutely essential element in the world of art. The variations of style seen in the Carolingian miniatures were due not only to local influences, but also to the personal efforts of some of the book-loving friends of the Emperor who were swayed by the tastes of the countries from which they had come. It was natural that the school of art which developed at Tours under the guidance and patronage of Alcuin should show a decided inclination toward Irish decorative forms. Theodulf, on the other hand, naturally retained his Visigothic predilections as did Witiza, the founder of the monastery at Aniane, and his neighbor, Guillaume of Gellone.

Another evangelistary-cover carved by the monk Totilus. *(Library of S. Gall.)*

Figs. 302 and 303. — Miniatures of the Evangelistary of Lothaire. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

The books most often illustrated were the Bibles. Each dignitary of Charlemagne's court possessed his own, always a handsome manuscript with a dedication at the beginning and some verses at the end. The same was true under Charlemagne's successors, and it became the custom to represent the monarch in glorified guise on the title-page or frontispiece of the book. Sometimes an actual scene is pictured as in the Bible of Charles the Bald, where we see the monks of the monastery of Marmoutier presenting the monarch with the large handsome book which they have decorated for him (fig. 299). Three monks to the right of the Emperor, perhaps those who had executed the work, offer the book to him. These would be the scholar who had revised the text, the scribe who wrote it and the painter, or illuminator. Eight other monks dressed in handsome robes stand before the throne upon which the monarch is seated, while on either side stand a noble and a warrior. The picture is full of animation and is evidently a serious attempt to reproduce the actual occurrence. We would never find a realistic picture of this character in Byzantine art. The frontispieces of the books which belonged to the Emperors of Constantinople contain portraits of their owners and are handsomely executed in a style that is at once sophisticated and vigorous, but these artists would never have been so audacious as to attempt these representations of actual life which were one day to bring about the Renaissance. For this reason Carolingian art has often been considered the first revival of art, a premature recovery sometimes called the Carolingian renaissance, but one which preceded the real Italian Renaissance



Figs. 304 and 305. — Miniatures of the Sacramentary of Metz. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

by some six centuries. This is due to the fact that we find at the court of Charlemagne and of his immediate successors the same two impulses which were later to produce the Renaissance in Italy. These were a sincere desire to imitate the civilization of classical antiquity and a disposition to study nature

Figs. 306 and 307. — Miniatures of the Sacramentary of Metz. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

itself; but they were both precocious manifestations of Western civilization and were not destined to endure.

Fig. 308.—Miniature of the Sacramentary of Metz. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

Byzantium was the natural heir of classical civilization. It had at its disposal all the cultural resources requisite for a genuine revival of art, such as the ancient monuments of Greece, the antique sculptures that had been brought to Constantinople, the old texts and the Greek treatises and critiques preserved in its libraries. Nevertheless Byzantine art, sophisticated and elegant as it was, was rarely a live thing. The modest scribes and miniaturists of Charlemagne's court, on the other hand, knew the ancient world only through the writings of Bede, Isidore, Cassiodorus and a few of the Latin poets. But like true Westerners, they were alive and took a joy in living, unhampered by that acute feeling for the inner life which paralyzed the Byzantine.

Often the scenes represented in the frontispieces of the Carolingian manuscripts are not so picturesque as that of the Bible of the monks of Marmoutier and consist merely of the portrait of the monarch accompanied by members of his court and allegorical figures. The so-called Bible of Charles the Bald in the monastery of S. Paul fuori le Mura at Rome shows us the same Emperor seated upon his throne and attended by two of his captains and two princesses. Above, four allegorical figures representing as many provinces together with two angels pay homage to the Lord's anointed (fig. 300). Each of the books of this Bible is preceded by a handsome page decorated with interlaced patterns and an ornamental border (fig. 301). These illustrations are often so beautiful that in order to preserve them they were protected by a piece of cloth. In the Bible of Theodulf, now at Puy, we still find in front of each picture a handsome piece of cloth, a rare Byzantine or Sassanian fabric placed between the parchment pages to protect the miniatures. Not only are these Bibles ornamented with illuminated pages heading each text, but also with illustrations of the various passages forming a repertory quite distinct from that of Byzantium.

The pictures of the Bibles of this period were copied by the Romanesque miniaturists and formed the principal source of such illustrations in Western Europe. Sometimes the texts were evangelistaries or psalters which were volumes easier to handle, and the books of extracts from the Gospels were smaller still. Another type of book much in use at this time and also well illustrated was the sacramentary containing the ritual for the Mass, Sacraments and other rites of the Church. When it was the property of some member of the royal family, the portrait of the owner was on the frontispiece. In the Evangelistary of Lothaire we

see the Emperor between two guards (fig. 302), while in the Sacramentary of Drogo, Bishop of Metz, who was the son of Charlemagne, the prince stands between two other members of the clergy who hold books in their hands (fig. 304). Upon the title-page, following the dedication, there was usually another large miniature representing the apotheosis of the Saviour who sits in an almond-shaped nimbus, sometimes surrounded by the four Evangelists as in the Evangelistary of Lothaire (fig. 303), and again accompanied by symbolic figures representing Earth and Sea as in the Sacramentary of Metz (fig. 305), or by groups of angels and seraphs as on another title-page of the same book (figure 306, 307 and 308).

Summary. — The most important example of Carolingian architecture that has come down to us from the time of Charlemagne is the church of his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, an imitation of S. Vitale at Ravenna. The Emperor also constructed churches and palaces at Nijmwegen and Ingelheim, and his ministers and other associates did the same in various parts of his great Empire, each following his own particular taste. Of the latter, the church at Germigny-des-Prés is still standing; it was built by the Visigothic bishop, Theodulf, and is very similar to the church of Cristo de la Luz at Toledo. The most learned of Charlemagne's collaborators were the Irish monks, and these introduced their own interlaced geometrical designs. The influence of these monks from Ireland even extended as far as Italy where they had religious communities at Bobbio and elsewhere. Monte Cassino was also strongly influenced by these Irish monks, and the same was true of some convents in Germany and S. Gall in Switzerland. After the partition of Charlemagne's Empire, many of these cultural centres abandoned the art of the Occident and turned to Byzantium for their artists. This was the case at Monte Cassino and Cividale, the capital of the Duchy of Friuli, which was also an important centre. Byzantine influences extended as far as Milan, where a local school of architects existed called the Masters of Como. Except for ivory carvings, no sculptures of the Carolingian period have come down to us. We know that there was some fresco-painting, and a few mosaics have been preserved at Germigny-des-Près in the church of Theodulf. The principal art of Charlemagne's time was the illustration of books, particularly the miniatures of the manuscripts belonging to Charlemagne and his successors, members of the royal family and dignitaries of the court.

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Fig. 309. — The provinces of the Empire. Miniature of the Evangelistary of Otto III. *(Cathedral of Bamberg.)*

Fig. 310. — Fresco on the vaults of Kasr-Amra.

CHAPTER X

THE LAST ARTISTIC SCHOOLS OF ASIA. — THE ORIGINS OF MOSLEM ART. MOSLEM ART IN EGYPT, NORTHERN AFRICA, SPAIN AND INDIA. MINOR ARTS. IVORIES, CERAMICS AND FABRICS.

DURING practically all the Roman occupation of Western Asia, the Parthian Kingdom kept the legions from advancing beyond the desert frontier of the Empire, and reestablished on the high plateaux of Persia a culture to some extent native. From this strategic position, as successors of the ancient Achaemenides they were able to act as the arbiters of the destinies of the entire Orient. At first the Parthian chieftains had been little more than desert nomads without lands or fixed habitations, but, later on, they became feudal lords, and their castles dotted the plains of Mesopotamia. The time came when the highest point within the walls of all the ancient Oriental cities was occupied by a fortress erected by the Parthian governor. Even the ruined cities of Babylonia and Assyria, abandoned for centuries, were now repopulated and upon the artificial mounds of debris rising from the desert plain were set the castles of the princely vassals of the Parthian kings. In excavating the site of one of these ancient cities, the modern archaeologist usually finds the upper layer to be composed of the remains of a Parthian castle, often handsomely decorated, which seems an anomaly in these desert places. The Sassanian Empire in 226 A.D. succeeded to the the loosely knit Parthian Kingdom, and founded a school of architecture based upon the vault construction traditional

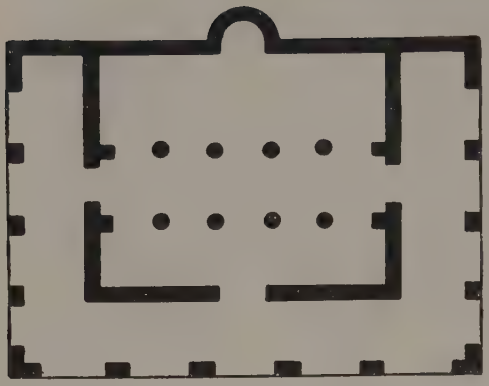


Fig. 311. — Plan of the mosque of Koser-il-Hallabat. Syria.

in Mesopotamia from time immemorial. Even in Persia, where we find the Sassanian palaces of Firuzabad and Sarvistan, the architects copied the vaulted and domed architecture of Mesopotamia and imitated the decorations of the ancient palaces of the Achaemenides only in the ornamentation of their doors and windows. All this is rather remarkable, when we recall that the palaces of Persepolis were covered with a roof composed of wooden beams and rafters and terra-cotta tiles. It is most significant that in spite of the proximity of the stately ruins of dynasties of which the Sassanian kings considered themselves the successors, their architects went to the lowlands of Mesopotamia for their models; for it is in the territory of their subjects on the banks of the Euphrates that we find the origin of the Sassanian styles. The palaces of Firuzabad and Sarvistan were known to archaeologists before they discovered the castles of Mesopotamia. The former are located in the modern Persian Empire. Here exploration could be carried on with greater safety than on the desert plains of the Euphrates, where archaeological expeditions were constantly menaced by the attacks of hostile Arab marauders. Firuzabad and Sarvistan have now lost much of the interest which they formerly inspired, for in spite of the dangers involved, travellers have visited the ruins of the desert castles and brought back studies and descriptions of these structures and the monuments found within

Fig. 312. — Ruins of the mosque of Koser-il-Hallabat. Syria.

Fig. 313.—Bath of Hammam-is-Sarakh. Syria.

them. Usually these castles are set within a walled enclosure. At the corners and along the sides are towers, and in the centre or at one end of the great court formed by the walls is the palace itself. On either side we often find subordinate buildings which served as stables, store-houses and guard-rooms, but the principal decoration is naturally that of the structure which formed the residence of the prince. This was covered with domes and barrel-vaults and enclosed by thick walls to protect its inmates from the burning heat of the desert. The inhabitants of these castles during the early Middle Ages were an interesting people, and the history of these little centres of literary and artistic activity is now being brought to light by the aid of old chronicles which have only recently attracted the attention of the investigator. All the desert peoples collaborated in the production of this new Mesopotamian art, and they brought to the task all the exuberant fancies of an untrammeled Oriental imagination. No powerful enemy from the outside world interfered with them, and during the peaceful intervals between their domestic wars they passed the time conceiving the beautiful forms with which they ornamented their buildings.

The best known of these castles is that of M'shatta in Syria, for the marvelous frieze which decorated its outer walls has been transported to the Museum of Berlin (fig. 762, Vol. I). It is exquisitely beautiful and consists of a complicated design composed of branches rising from small vases, each alternating with figures of lions, panthers and birds. There are also large rosettes like handsome buds carved in the stone. Another castle, that of Hatra, appears to be somewhat older and even retains something of the ancient classical art, while the castle of El-Amra, on the other hand, seems to have been built by a famous chieftain who lived in early Mohammedan times. The mural paintings of the last named have been reproduced in a monograph on this monument published by the Academy of Vienna in 1909 (fig. 310).

Undoubtedly these castles are the places where we must look for the origin

Fig. 314. — Exterior of the Mosque of Omar. Jerusalem.

of the art which was later adopted by the Saracens and carried by them to every portion of the Orient and Occident where their conquests extended. We know that the first countries with artistic traditions and an ancient civilization which were occupied by the Arabs were Syria and lower Mesopotamia. Syria was conquered by Omar even before the Arabs invaded Egypt, and it was on these plains of Western Asia that the warlike nomads of Arabia first began to learn something of artistic technique.

We know little of pre-Islamic Arabia, that is to say, before the coming of Mahomet. The writers of antiquity tell marvelous tales of Saba, whose fabulously wealthy queen visited the court of Solomon, but as yet we can only affirm that before the time of Mahomet, Arabia had no artistic style or culture of her own. Recent explorations of the Arabian peninsula and its deserts have brought to light only new tombs of the Petra type and a number of sacred sites and rocks which were the sanctuaries of the Bedouin Sabean cult. Only the Nabataean Arabs of Petra had learned to excavate the famous hypogea of this region, possessed a writing system of their own and were able to carve figures in the round independent of any monumental ornament. But, Petra, like Baalbek, Palmyra and the other Hellenistic cities of the desert, had already fallen into decay when the Arabs, inflamed by the preaching of Mahomet, set out to conquer the world. Consequently it was in Babylonia and Syria that the essential elements of the Moslem style were adopted. The frieze of M'shatta and other reliefs belonging to the same school of sculpture indicate the principal sources of their derivation.

Fig. 315. — Interior of the Mosque of Omar. Jerusalem.

We have already noted in the third

PHOTO CHUSEAU-FLAVIENS

Fig. 316. — Mosque of Damascus. SYRIA.

chapter of this volume the extraordinary building activity in Syria and the Hauran district during the first centuries of Christianity. When the Arabs occupied these provinces, they must have begun their first buildings, and the archaeological exploration of the region has uncovered two interesting monuments, already Moslem, constructed of stone like the Christian churches of Syria. One of these is the mosque of Koser-il-Hallabat which consists only of a hall of three aisles separated by columns, but there is the small niche called the mihrab on the side toward Mecca (figs. 311 and 312). The other is the bath of Hammam-is-Sarakh, not far away, which is also roofed with stone vaults (fig. 313).

It was not long, however, before the Arabs of Syria ceased to copy the local Christian monuments and began to imitate the structures of Constantinople, then the capital of the world. The mosque of Omar on Mt. Moriah, formerly the site of the temple of Jerusalem, is a typical Byzantine monument. The rotunda was begun in 687 A.D. and although it was restored and added to down to the time of Suleiman, we still find in it a number of the original mosaics. Those of the exterior, it is said, were the work of artists from Constantinople who had been sent by the Emperor to Jerusalem (fig. 314). Its plan is octagonal and is clearly Byzantine. Over the centre rises a dome surrounded by two concentric aisles (fig. 315). Beneath the dome the rock itself is plainly visible. Here the sacrifice of Abraham was believed to have occurred, and it was from this spot that Mahomet was taken up into the uppermost heaven. Consequently the mosque is not oriented toward Mecca, and the Arabs of Syria ascribe to this rock a greater sanctity even than that of the Kaaba itself.

Fig. 317. — Mosque of Sultan Barkuk. Cairo.

Apart from a few exceptional cases like the Mosque of Omar, however, all the early Mohammedan mosques consisted simply of a court, or open-air sanctuary. In our study of ancient Oriental art, we have already seen that in the Phoenician sanctuaries and even the temple of Jerusalem the most prominent feature was the court, although there was, of course, a secluded holy place to which the main body of worshippers were not admitted. The temple of Byblus, or Jebeil, in Phoenicia, was a sacred court, and the famous Roman sanctuary at Baalbek was a magnificent enclosure surrounded by temples or shrines. The most highly venerated mosque in the world, that of Mecca, is simply a colonnaded court in the centre of which is the Kaaba, the sacred stone toward which all Mohammedans direct their prayers. This mosque differs from the

Figs. 318 and 319. — Exterior and interior of the mosque of Hasan. CAIRO.

other early Arab places of worship in that the faithful face the centre when at prayer; consequently there is the same number of columns on each side. But in the other early mosques there is a colonnade only on the side of the court toward Mecca, the direction in which the worshippers offer their prayers. In the centre of the wall behind this arcade is a niche called the mihrab. It contains no statue or idol and is a symbol of the sanctuary at Mecca. As was natural, the first mosques were usually enlarged as time went on. But in structures like the mosques of Almutasin and Abu Dolaf on the Mesopotamian desert, which were abandoned at an early period and still preserve intact the primitive type, we find only a rectangular court with a row of columns on the side toward Mecca. The famous mosque of Damascus is of the same type, and it is probable that its aisles are the remains of an ancient Christian basilica (fig. 316). Later they increased the rows of columns on this side and enriched the other three sides of the court with a simple arcade. By adding to the rows of columns on the side of the mihrab, the entire mosque took on a new aspect very different from that of the original structure. It became a temple composed of many aisles divided by parallel lines of columns in front of which was a court, and the court became a sort of vestibule to the sacred spot. In the mosque of Ibn-Tulun, for example, at Cairo, we find only five rows of columns on the side of the mihrab. At Kai-

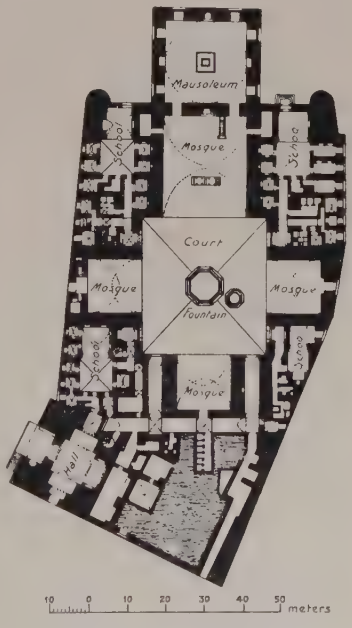


Fig. 320. — Plan of the mosque of Hasan. CAIRO.

Fig. 321. — Tombs of the Caliphs. Cairo.

rawan there are more, but the court is still an important feature. In the Cordova mosque we find aisle after aisle, a forest of columns, while the court seems little more than an accessory feature. Here we would never imagine that the court was originally the principal part of the sanctuary.

The conquest of Syria was followed by that of Egypt, and here, particularly at Cairo, the new capital, the caliphs erected many handsome mosques. Cairo is still the most characteristic Mohammedan city in existence and contains examples of Moslem art of every period, from the early mosques in the form of a court, like that of Ibn-Tulun, to those of modern times which still follow the Arab styles. But in all these Egyptian monuments, we note one predominant element, the raised, or pointed, arch which the Saracens borrowed from the Coptic structures they found in the country. It is not drawn from a single centre, but is composed of arbitrary

Fig. 322. — Tombs of the Caliphs. The mosque. Cairo

curves on either side which meet at the top. Later, we find in the mosques of Cairo a cruciform plan consisting of a court or hall with four aisles for the four rites of the Mohammedan religion as practiced in the Thirteenth Century. In figure 317 we see one of the wings of the mosque of Sultan Barkuk. Out of the main aisle opens the mihrab, and to one side is the small pulpit, or *mimbar,* which is always the handsomest of the furnishings. There is also the tribune, or *dikkeh,* for the reading of the Koran, supported by eight columns and set further out in the centre of the main aisle.

Fig. 323. — Exterior of the Tombs of the Mamelukes. CAIRO.

Some of the mosques of Cairo are incorporated in a vast mass of buildings containing hospitals, schools, apartments for the accomodations of strangers and the tomb of the sultan who founded the establishment. The mosque of Hasan is typical of this sort and is one of the most interesting structures at Cairo. There is a central court with a fountain in the middle. Out of the court open the four halls for the four rites (figs. 318, 319 and 320). In the corners are the four schools and behind is the square domed hall containing the tomb of the founder. On the outside is a cornice of stalactites, and the great building is flanked by minarets. The doorway is a great arch seventy-five feet high. The entire structure is magnificently decorated and is still an important religious centre. Another school-mosque of Cairo is that of El-Azhar which is the seat of a University enjoying a prestige in the Mohamedan world comparable with that of Oxford and Heidelberg in Europe.

Fig. 324. — Tomb of the Emir Suleiman. CAIRO.

In a suburb of Cairo named Kait-Bey is the cemetery of the Mamelukes called the Tombs of the

Fig. 325.—General view of the mosque of Kairawan. Tunis.

Caliphs. Here are a number of graceful chapels irregularly assembled about the mosque which contains a school and hospital (figs. 321 and 322). The Tombs are all similar in their arrangement. The ground plain is square and is covered with a dome supported by four pendentives at the corners, giving the small structure a much higher elevation. The cupolas are ornamented with reliefs,

Fig. 326.—Interior of the mosque of Kairawan. Tunis.

Fig. 327.—Arab window. *Tarragona Cathedral.*

Fig. 328.—Aljaferia doorway. SARAGOSSA.

some of them of a simple geometrical design and others with graceful plan-forms (figs. 323 and 324).

After seizing Egypt, the Arabs overran Cyrenaica, Tunis and Algeria. A number of their ancient mosques are still standing; those of Sfax and Tunis probably date from the Eighth Century, but the most important is that of Sidi Okba at Kairawan. Although it was originally built by Okba-ben-Nafi in 670, it was later rebuilt and did not take on its present appearance until the beginning of the Ninth Century (fig. 325). In front is the great colonnaded court, and down the centre from the door to the mihrab runs a central aisle wider than the others. The latter are parallel and are separated by antique columns and capitals supporting a simple construction of arches and

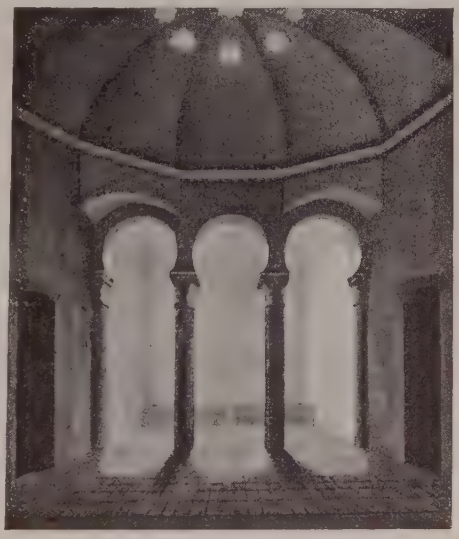


Fig. 329.—Moorish baths at Valencia. SPAIN.

Fig. 330. — Interior of the mosque at Cordova. SPAIN.

Fig. 331. — Doorway of the mosque at Cordova. SPAIN.

beams above which is a wooden ceiling (fig. 326). The mihrab of the Kairawan mosque is lined with tiles and wooden panels which are said to have been imported from the Orient and are among the most handsome of Moslem decorative art. On either side of the mihrab is a column of red and yellow porphyry. These were brought from Carthage and their equal does not exist elsewhere in the world.

We have seen that the Arabs who overran the Orient learned much from the architectural and decorative styles traditional in those lands. The same was bound to occur in Spain. In the first buildings which they erected in the Iberian peninsula, it is evident that the Arabs availed themselves not only of the materials but also of the architectural technique of the Visigothic monuments. At least we note a great difference between the buildings they erected immediately after the conquest and what they did later on. It is interesting to compare the window-arch of the cathedral at Tarragona (fig. 327), and its interwoven patterns and decorations that are almost Byzantine, with the ornamentation of the mosque of the Aljaferia at Saragossa, which consists of the conventionalized leaves so characteristic of Moslem art (fig. 328). For this reason, some of the Arab monuments of the Peninsula may be more properly classed as Visigothic than Moslem. These are more compactly arranged, as in the Cristo de la Luz, the arrangement of which would seem strange in Moslem architecture if it were

Fig. 332. — Doorway of the mosque of Cordova.

not for its Visigothic antecedents. In his modern "Manual of Moslem Architecture" Saladin notes the derivation of the Arab capital in Spain from those of the Visigothic relief in the cistern of Merida.

It is possible that the Arab builders of these structures of a Visigothic character learned in Spain to construct the horseshoe arch so typical of the Moslem monuments in Mediterranean lands. It was in Spain that they seemed most inclined toward this form, and in the Cordova mosque, the most important example of this style, we find enormous quantities of fragments of reliefs, friezes and capitals taken from the old Visigothic buildings which the Arabs had torn down in order to obtain materials for the construction of the great mosque of the capital of the Western Caliphate (fig. 330). This arch, in which the curve is carried further than the half circle, was taken to Northern Africa which was under the dominion of the Caliphs of Cordova, and it has continued to be a traditional feature even in the modern buildings of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis.

It is evident that during the first years of their occupation of Spain, the Arabs made use of the Visigothic buildings, not only for governmental purposes, but for religious, as well. In some cities the old cathedrals were transformed into mosques, a portion being reserved for Christian worship. When the Western Caliphate was established about the middle of the Eighth Century, the first caliphs were naturally desirous of erecting in their capital a mosque which would outvie the magnificence of those of the Orient. The Cordova mosque was begun in 786 by Abd-er-Rahman I who utilized the walls and columns of the old basilica of St. Vincent. Its original plan comprised only eleven aisles, the centre one leading to the mihrab being somewhat wider than the others as at Kairawan. Hisham I added a number of lateral aisles, built the minaret and beautified the court with a magnificent fountain of purification. Hisham II constructed eleven more aisles with as many rows of columns, and in Almazor's

Fig. 333.—Approach to the mihrab. Cordova mosque.

Fig. 334.—Doorway of the mihrab. Cordova mosque.

time, when the Berber immigration made more space desirable, still more aisles were added to the mosque.

This multiplication of the aisles raised a new problem, that of the proper manner to roof so great a mosque. As long as there was only a single arcade on the side of the mihrab, or at most a series of three to five columned aisles, a wooden roof was quite sufficient. But when, as in the mosque at Cordova, the aisles became much more numerous, the great space enclosed and the vast extension of the galleries made it necessary to raise the ceiling. Otherwise the monument would have seemed excessively low. On the other hand, the Moslem architects of the mosque at Cordova depended upon the ancient buildings and ruins for their columns and capitals, and they found it difficult or impossible to obtain enough marble shafts of the size necessary to give the new temple its proper proportions. To overcome this difficulty they adopted the same device which the Romans had employed in the aqueduct at Merida; they set one arcade on top of another. Above the lower columns they put a second series which were surmounted by arches. Sometimes there is even a third series of arches and columns raising the ceiling still higher. Only the sanctuary, or mihrab, was vaulted; the Emperor of Constantinople is said to have sent artists and mosaics to decorate it (figs. 334 and 335). In front of the mihrab is a richly ornamented approach called the Maksurah which forms a sort of vestibule to the sanctuary (fig. 333).

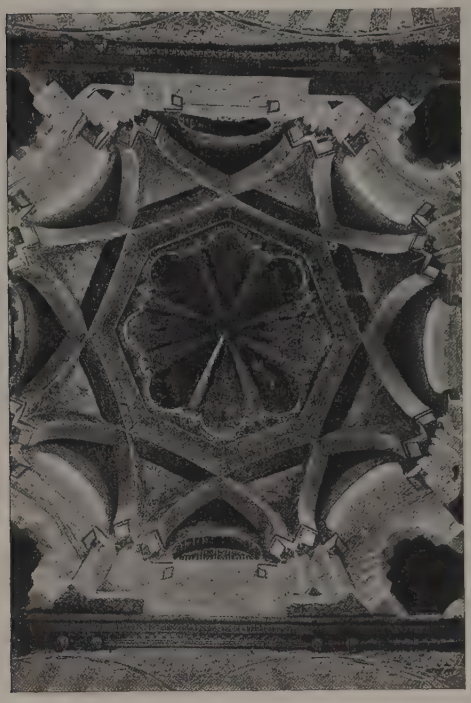


Fig. 335. — Ceiling of the mihrab in the mosque at Cordova.

About the year 1171 Almanzor began the mosque at Seville on the site of the present Gothic cathedral. This has entirely disappeared except for its famous minaret, now called the Giralda, and even this has been much restored and added to (figs. 336 and 337). Today the Giralda is the most highly prized monument of the city and is the belfry of the cathedral. It has the simple outline of a square tower with a Renaissance superstructure rising from its upper platform. Its form is characteristic of the Moslem architecture of Spain and Northern Africa. Indeed, the minarets of the mosques at Rabat, Marrakesh and Oran follow the same type.

We read in the chronicle of Alfonso el Sabio that this handsome minaret had "another tower of eight fathoms (in height) and upon its top were four round knobs", the work of a Sicilian. The tower has been so often restored that it is difficult to determine what was the precise character of the superstructure in Moslem times.

The minaret is an indispensible feature of the mosque. From this tower the faithful are called to prayer by the muezzin who intones a verse from the Koran. The minarets of the mosques which we find on the Mesopotamian desert today, however, are cylindrical, with a spiral ascent around the outside, as in that of the city of Samara near Bagdad. This form is derived from the stage-towers of Assyria and Babylonia. No doubt the Arabs, when they occupied the valley of the Euphrates, copied this feature from the ruins of the ancient Babylonian cities, and the minarets of this part of the world have always preserved something of this type. We feel justified, therefore, in telling the people of Seville that their well known tower is a copy of an even more famous structure, the tower of Babel, with its terraced stories rising one above another.

Among the Arabs, as among all Oriental peoples, the most important civil building was the residence of the monarch. They were a nomad people and had no antecedents for this type of structure before the time of Mahomet and the first conquests. Consequently they were obliged to learn from the nations they conquered. The light and complicated character of Persian construction appealed to the tastes of the Mohammedan builders, and this became the prototype of the most charming of the Oriental palaces with their broad pools

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 336.—The Giralda prior to its last alteration.

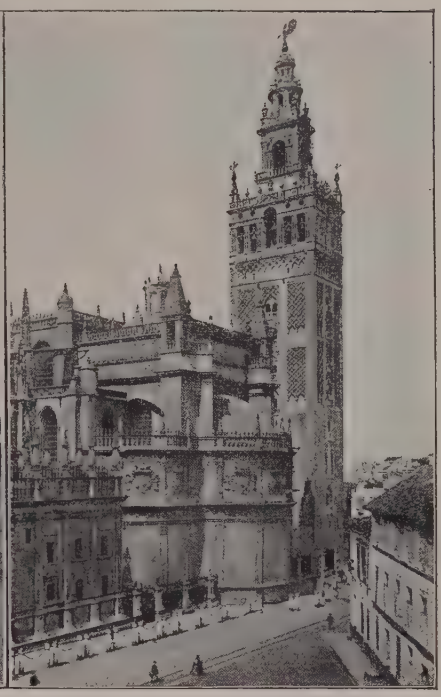


PHOTO HAUSER Y MENET

Fig. 337.—The Giralda. Present state.

bordered with myrtles and rose-bushes. Their gardens were watered by the play of fountains. Rare plants bloomed in secluded spots, and in the middle rose a graceful kiosk. Within the pavilions were richly coloured and gilded reliefs of alabaster, the only decoration of the walls, while the ceilings were composed in ingenious patterns gleaming with gold and enameled glass. After the Eleventh Century all the Arab palaces followed the same type. In Sicily we still find the remains of the palaces constructed by the Saracen princes in the outskirts of Palermo and later enlarged by the Norman kings who occupied them. These differ little from the Moslem palaces of Spain.

The first palace of the Cordova caliphs appears to have been the country-seat of Ruzafa erected by Abd-er-Rahman I, but even the place where it stood is now forgotten. The city residence of the caliphs was on the site now occupied by the bishop's palace. This structure was built in the time of Abd-er-Rahman II, but it has been rebuilt in later times until the original structure can no longer be recognized. There are important remains of the Cordovan Versailles erected by Abd-er-Rahman III at the foot of the Sierra and called Medina Azahra. The spot is now called Cordova la Vieja (figs. 338 and 339). This palace usually served as the residence of the favorite wife of the Caliph, but it was large enough to lodge the entire court. The ruins are now being carefully explored by Velázquez Bosco, who has published the results obtained thus far, making a valuable contribution to the origin of Cordovan art. There seems to be no longer any doubt

Fig. 338.—Column of the palace of Medina Azahra.

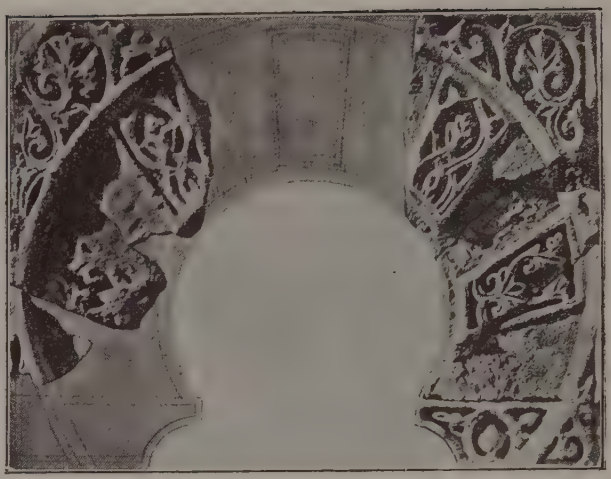


Fig. 339.—Details of a window in the palace of Medina Azahra.

that the architects of Medina Azahra were brought from Egypt and that the palace was embellished with fountains sent by the Emperor of Constantinople. Another Cordovan palace explored by Velázquez Bosco was built by Almanzor on the summit of Aguilarejo and called Alamiria. The Alcazar of Seville, where the Moslem commander resided, was both a palace and a fortress. It was begun by the Ommeyades who were fond of ostentation and it became a magnificent structure under the Almohades in the Twelfth Century. Since that time, however, it has been greatly modified. Alphonso XI rebuilt it as did Pedro the Cruel and other later princes, and it has been so altered that an analysis is now impossible. It is built about a rectangular central court, and at one end is another small court. We are ignorant of the use of the different parts of this handsome palace; some rooms are linked with the names of famous historical characters, but much of the connection is probably the product of popular imagination.

Although the present decoration is all Moorish, the Hall of Ambassadors (fig. 340) is probably the oldest portion, judging from the form and arrangement of the arches which recall in a measure those of the mosque at Cordova. Some remains of the old stucco are still to be found in the interior, and one of the doors appears to be of Arab workmanship. But so many changes and restorations have taken place (and one in recent years has been anything but judicious) that it would be extremely difficult to attempt a restoration of the original structure. The entire palace enclosure must have occupied a considerable space and probably extended down to the famous Torre del Oro. The latter was a portion of the defenses, but is still a work of unusual beauty. This tower defended the palace on the river side, and it was here that Pedro the Cruel is supposed to have kept his treasure. The walls still stood until recent times, exhibiting the typical features of the ramparts of the Moorish fortresses.

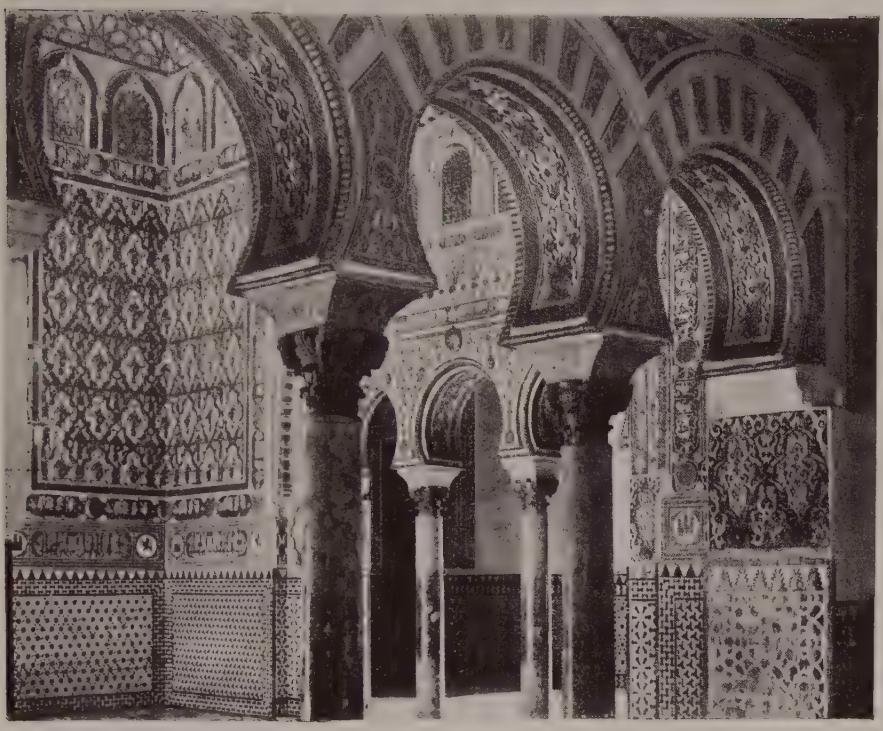


PHOTO HAUSER & MENET

Fig. 340.—Hall of Ambassadors. Alcazar at Seville. SPAIN.

The palace on the bank of the Guadiana at Merida was constructed in 835 on the remains of the old walls of the Visigothic palace. The Alcazar at Saragossa, which is still called the Aljaferia, was rebuilt in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella and later transformed into a convent. Today it is used as a barrack. It is situated on a flat space not far from the River Ebro, which it was necessary to fortify with walls and towers. It consisted of a central court with lateral galleries and in the background was a great hall with subordinate buildings on either side. The decorations are carved in soft gypsum which lent itself admirably to the most delicate work.

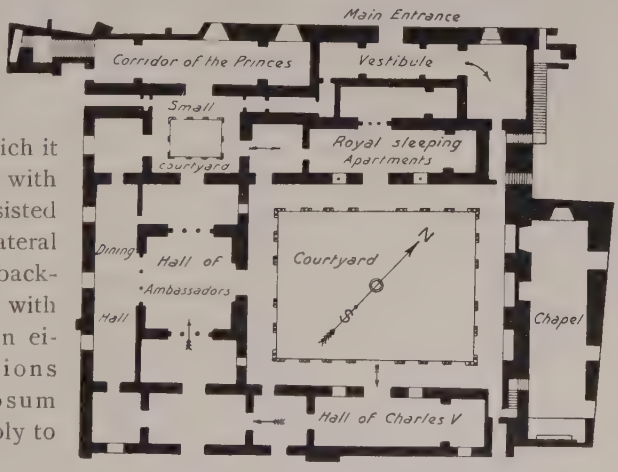


Fig. 341.—Plan of the Alcazar at Seville.

Another famous royal

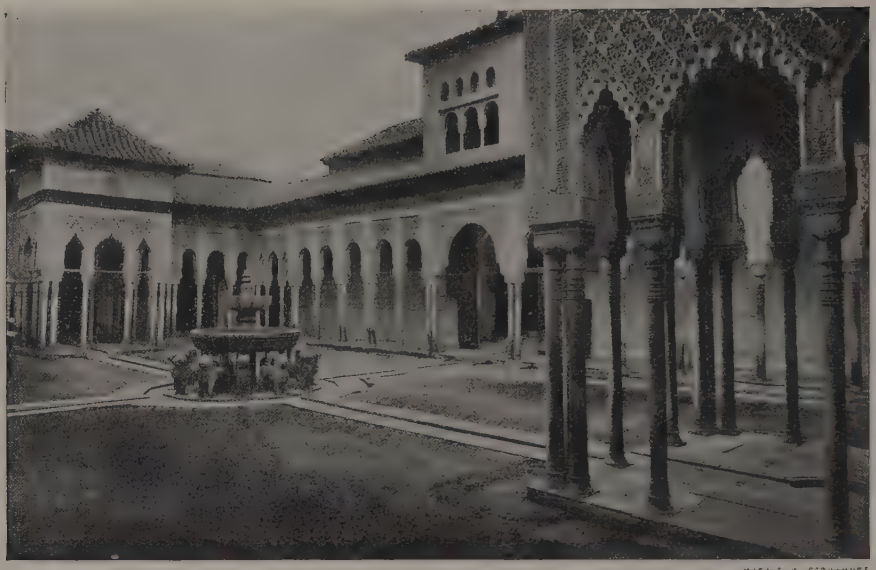


Fig. 342. — Court of the Lions. *Alhambra.* GRANADA.

palace was the Alhambra, the residence of the kings of Granada, which has been preserved almost intact. It lacks only the portion torn down by Charles V who began a Renaissance structure on the site of the Moorish palace but never completed it.

The Alhambra was built on the hill overlooking the valley of Assabica by Sultan Mohammed, surnamed el-Amhar (the Red), of the dynasty of the Nasrides. He followed the classical Moslem style of the Iberian peninsula in this handsome palace (figs. 342 to 351).

Just as the Roman Empire imposed its manner of living and its artistic tastes upon its colonies, so the Arabs carried their civilization far to the West; but, like Roman art, Arab art was unable to resist either the influence of the conquered population or that of the character of the country itself. A number of factors contributed to the peculiar development of Arab art in the new Caliphate of Andalusia from the time of the erection of the mosque at Cordova down to that of the magnificent palace at Granada. The Arabs had not come into a land peopled only by barbarian tribes, as was so often the case with the Romans. Influenced by a population such as that of the Visigothic kingdom, they accepted many of the artistic traditions of their subjects throughout the period of the development of Moslem art in Spain. In some of the halls of the Alhambra we see the work of Spanish artists, or rather artisans, like those who still ply their trade in the narrow streets of Manises and the other cities of eastern Spain where the pottery industry has been carried on since the most ancient times.

From all these elements and impelled by the creative force of this Oriental civilization, the Arabs produced a marvellous collection of buildings with the bright colours, stalactite vaults, delicate marquetry and rich reliefs and arabesques

PHOTO BEÑAN & GONZALEZ

Fig. 343.—Hall of Justice. *Alhambra.* GRANADA.

so typical of classical Moslem architecture in Spain. Taken as a whole, the Alhambra reflects the last word of this Oriental civilization which spread like a flood over the westernmost portion of the Occident. Here, in the most distant land overrun by the Arabs, they established a new Kingdom of their own, and for a brief space the Moslem rulers of Spain enjoyed a formidable military and political power. The various artistic schools which grew out of this Moslem culture produced many a magnificent work, and of them all the Alhambra is today the most charming. The Court of the Myrtles, the Hall of the Ambassadors, that of the Two Sisters, the Hall of Justice, the Baths and the Peinador all give the impression of being a fanciful creation in which even the delicate details breathe the spirit of a forceful nation. The structural methods, however, are those of a people that have been nomads. Behind the light vaults and grace-

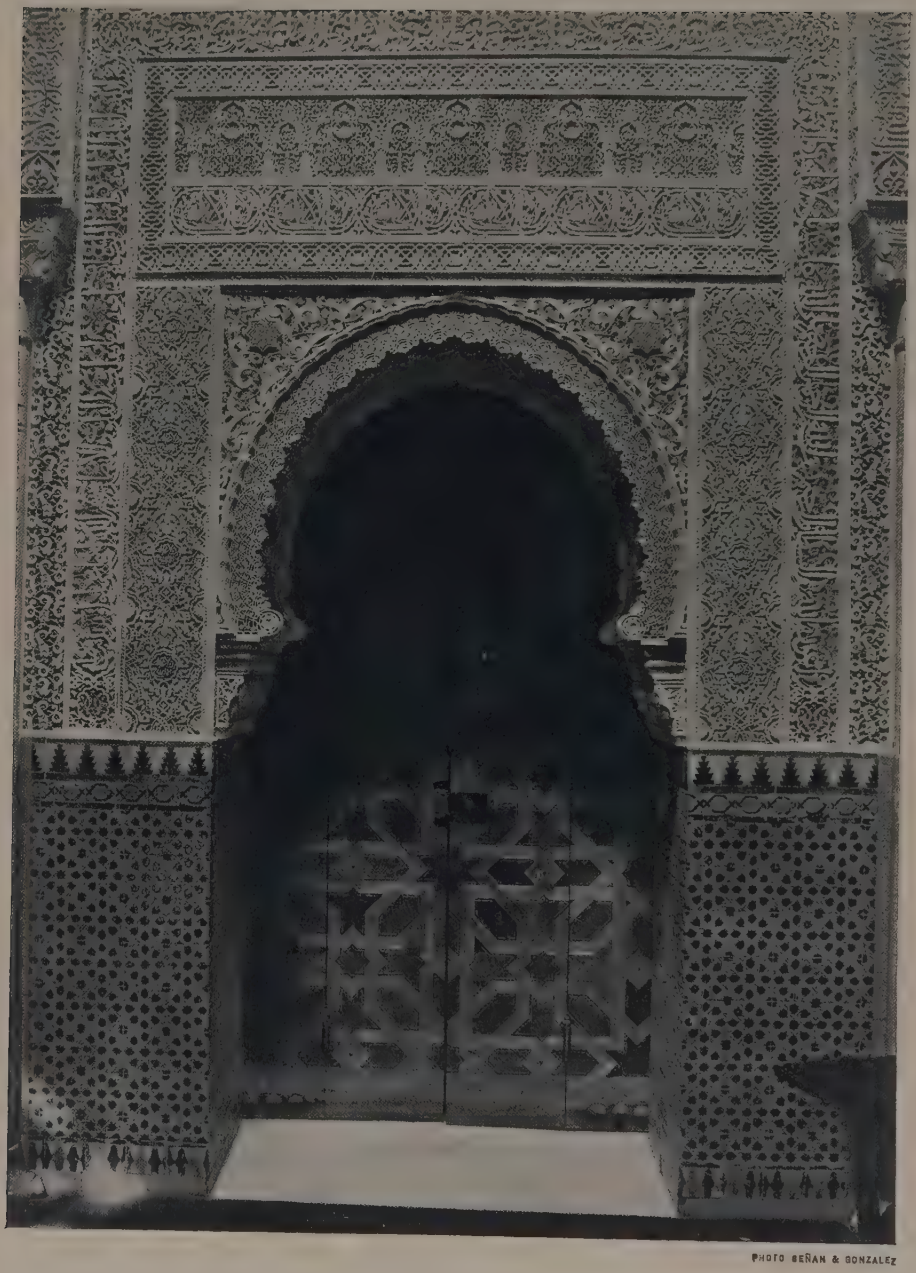


Fig. 344.—Detail of the doorway of the Mosque. *Alhambra.*

Fig. 345.—Exterior of the Alhambra, Granada.

ful walls is the frame-work of a desert tent. The panels are merely plaster forms which in spite of their profuse and highly colored ornamentation are only like hanging tapestries are very beautiful but not substantial.

Tiles, glass and painted gypsum are the main elements of the decoration of this home of the kings of Granada; but from time to time, as though suggesting the existence of a powerful latent force, we feel the influence of the art of other peoples, something intangible which, though out of sight, lay beneath this dominating Oriental culture.

The plan of the Alhambra (fig. 346) is typical of the Moslem alcazar. An extensive walled enclosure contains the various structures of which the palace is composed. Its outer aspect is that of an imposing fortress (fig. 345), but within, we find beautiful apartments, where all seems intended only for a life of pleasure. In addition to the disfiguring modern buildings, the walled area is occupied by the *alcazaba,* or citadel, now almost destroyed, and the palace proper. Across the valley and also defended by numerous towers is the Generalife, a collection of sumptuous pavilions which constituted the summer residence of the kings of Granada. In the Alhambra the life of the palace revolved about two great courts, that of the Myrtles and the famous Court of the Lions. (Plate XXII.)

As we have said, the Alhambra is of light construction; many of the walls are of mud reenforced with courses of brick, and the plain wooden ceilings are masked by revetments and hanging stalactites of painted gypsum (figs. 350 and 351). The latter feature, which we find at its best in this palace, belongs to a school peculiar to the Mediterranean area. In Syria, Persia and India, the domes are ornamented with geometrical patterns, but they do not stand out prominently from the curve of the vault, and there are no stalactites hanging from the ceiling such as we find in Egypt, Morocco and Spain. Not many years ago a Frenchman, General Beyle, while exploring an abandoned city in Tunis which was the site of the Kaala of the Beni-Hamad, discovered this gypsum decoration which is so characteristic of Moslem art of Morocco and Spain. This is especially interesting, because the Kaala of the Beni-Hamad was built early in the Tenth Century and soon abandoned. For this reason it sets a date for the beginning of this type of decoration.

In addition to the polychrome reliefs of the gypsum panels, the walls are ornamented with glazed tiles of handsome design in which gold predominates. Fountains of water play in all the halls and the windows overlook gardens of myrtles and shallow pools like those of the palaces of the Orient.

The Arabs built other palaces in Spain, and we still find in Morocco structures of the same character (fig. 352). In Andalusia, as in Morocco today, the apartments of the private houses opened into a central court and there were no windows on the outside of the building (fig. 353). The Moslem styles of Andalusia are still preserved in Morocco.

We have already mentioned the baths which are still an indispensable feature of every Mohammedan city. In the centre is a tank, and the hall is covered with a dome. Around it lie the various apartments where Mohammedans are accustomed to gather on certain festal occasions. Another type of building always found in Moslem lands is that of the caravansary for the accomodation of caravans of pilgrims and merchants. This structure consists of a large court surrounded by sleeping rooms, stables, etc. In the Orient these caravansaries are often handsome buildings, and among the apartments lying about the great court we frequently find four mosques for the four orthodox Mohammedan rites. The enormous Oriental bazaar, like a covered street, is also typical of a Moslem city, and hospitals and leper-houses were formerly maintained with zealous piety.

The roads of the Arabs in Africa and Spain were rather primitive affairs as

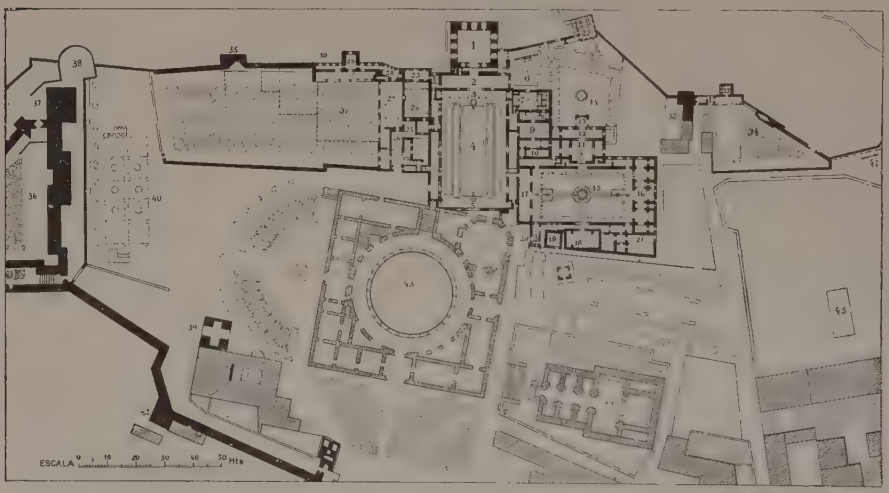
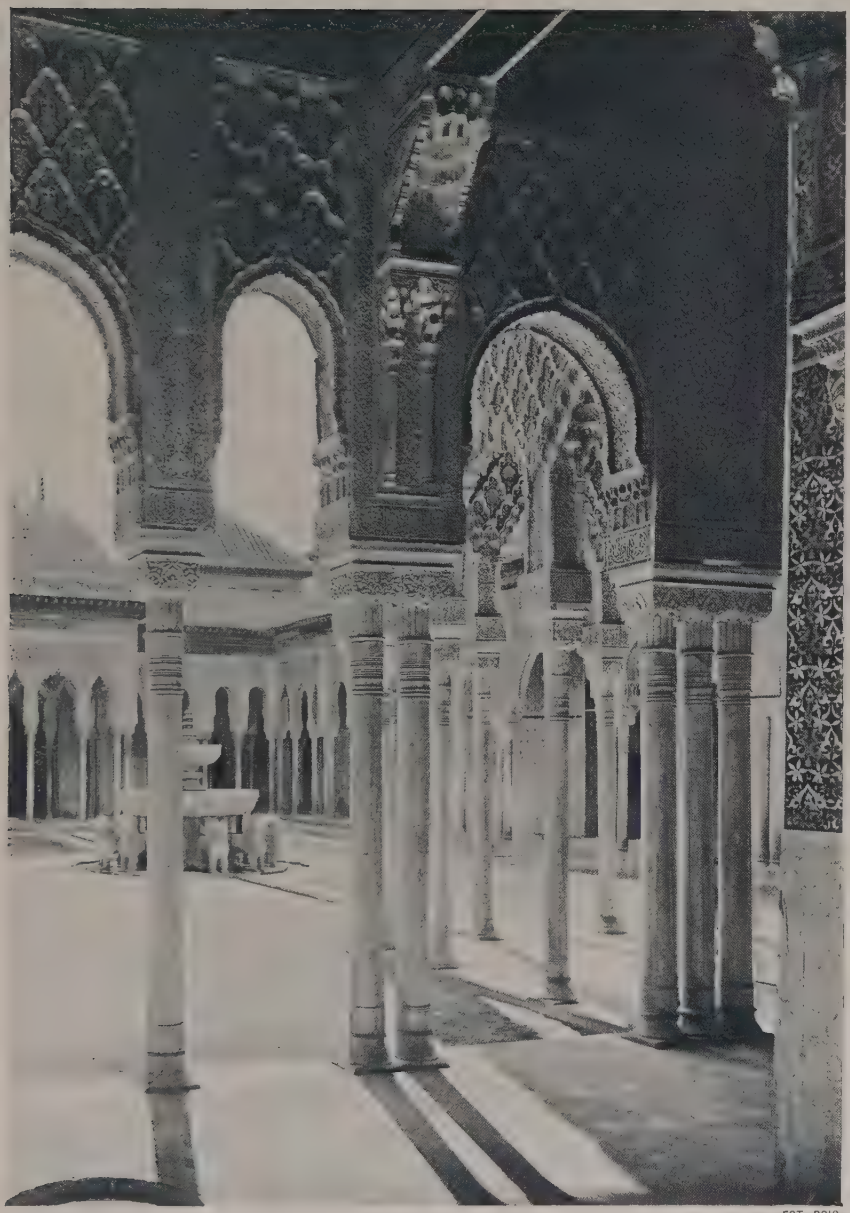


Fig. 346.—Plan of the Alhambra. GRANADA.

1. Tower of Comares.—2. Hall of the Barque.—3. Arcade of the Court of the Myrtles.—4. Court of the Myrtles, or of the Fishpond.—5. Doorway leading to the destroyed portion.—6. Court of la Reja.—7. Chamber of Repose.—8. Drainage channel.—9. Bath.—10. Heating plant for the bath (destroyed).—11. Hall of the two Sisters.—12. Hall of the Ajimeces.—13. Mirador of Lindaraja.—14. Court of Lindaraja.—15. Court of the Lions.—16. Hall of Justice.—17. Hall of the Mozarabs.—18. Hall of the Abencerrajes.—19. Old Arab cistern.—20. Old entrance to the Court of the Lions.—21. Cemetery.—22. Tower of Abul Hachach and the Mirador of the Queen.—23. Hall of the Shields.—24. Court of the Mosque.—25. Reception Hall.—26. Old entrance.—27. Christian chapel.—28. Oratory of the Nazarene kings.—29. Tower of the Daggers, or of Machuca.—30. Ancient gallery.—31. Garden of Machuca.—32. Houses of el Partal.—33. The Ladies' Tower.—34. Oratory and House of Bracamonte.—35. Tower of las Gallinas.—36. Alcazaba.—37. The Homage Tower.—38. Tower.—39. The Wine Gate.—40. Square of the Cisterns.—41. Tower of the Peaks.—42. Tower of Justice.—43. Palace of Charles V.—44. Church of Santa Maria, formerly the palace mosque.—45. Pool.



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Western corner of the Court of the Lions. *Alhambra.*

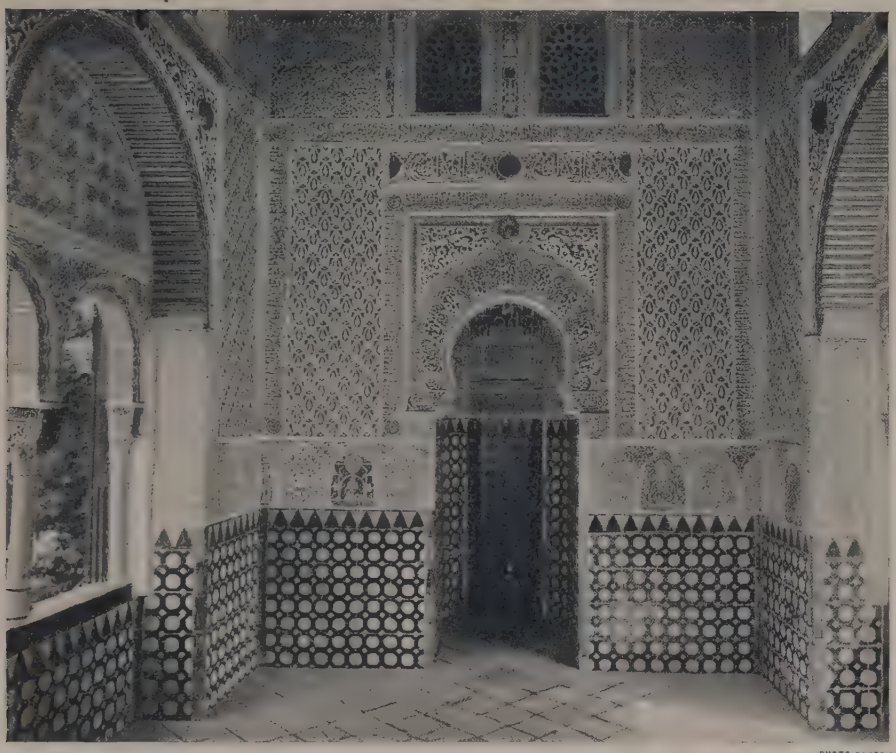

Fig. 347. — Interior of the Mosque. *Alhambra.*

in all Moslem countries, but their hydraulic works were often both ingenious and efficient. Many of the irrigation canals and river dykes of Spain date from the time of the Arabs. They restored the old Roman bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara and built many others like the one at Cordova. In Egypt the Nilometer, a gauge for measuring the height of water in the Nile, is of Arab workmanship. These people were masters of the art of fortification; it was from them that the Crusaders learned many defensive devices which they afterwards applied to their own cities and castles in the Occident. Many of the technical terms applied to military construction during the Middle Ages were derived from the Arabic, such as barbican, etc. In the Orient we still find Moslem fortresses in an excellent state of preservation as at Aleppo (figs. 354 and 355). and the great forts constructed by the Mogul rulers on the Persian frontier. The Arabs built many walled cities both in Spain and Northern Africa. An excellent example is the wall of Marrakesh with its great square towers which was the work of the Almoravides; also that of Mansurah near Tlemcen in Algeria. In Spain the towers at Seville and the old city walls of Almeria and Cordova are of Arab construction. Here, as in Morocco, they were usually built of adobe. In those of Cordova and Mansurah we can still see the holes which held the bars of the mould. Among the Arab fortresses of Spain we might cite that of Alcalá and the famous Alcazaba of Malaga which was recently destroyed.

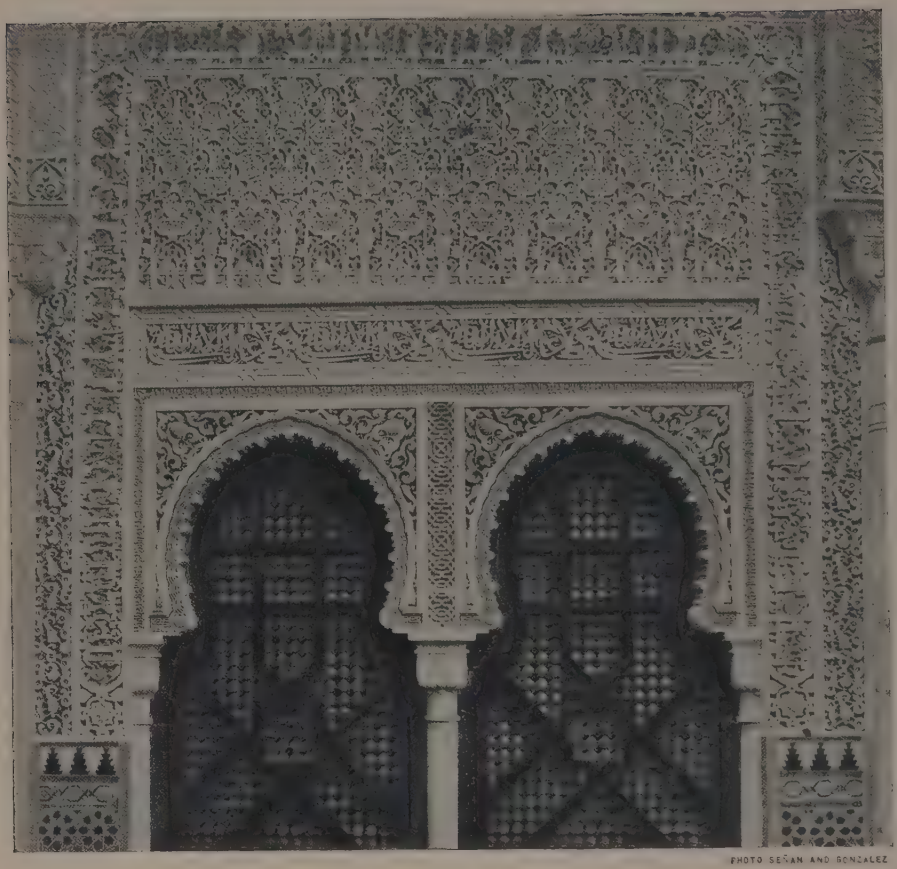

Fig. 348.—Detail of *ajimez* or double window of the Mosque. *Alhambra.*

Their city-gates were usually flanked with towers as in the case of the Byzantine fortifications. They are sometimes set at an angle of the wall like the Puerta del Sol at Toledo (fig. 357). In all we find a long covered passage for the protection of the defenders (fig. 358). Often, too, there is a double curtain-wall with a second gate (fig. 359). In some the passage is not laid out in a straight line, but turns a corner as in one of the gates of Mequinez and that of Bab-Zira in Tunis (figs. 361 and 362).

Often the gateway consists simply of a monumental arch which is ornamented with reliefs (figs. 355 and 360). In both Spain and Morocco the walls are crowned with battlements. At first the latter were square; later they were terminated in a pyramid as on the Puerta del Sol at Toledo or were stepped as at Fez (fig. 363).

The Moslem architects of the West were rather sparing in their use of vaults and domes, but in Persia and Turkestan, on the contrary, they employed vaults in the greatest profusion. These were more or less in imitation of the architecture of the Sassanids. Here we find a square mosque with a central dome, and the doorway is always an enormous arch opening on the court which is

Fig. 349.—Rest Room, attached to the baths. *Alhambra.*

approached by an arched doorway. This feature is evidently of Persian origin; We find it also in one of the mosques of Konia, the ancient Iconium, which was the capital of the Seljuk sultans and saw the beginning of the formidable military power of the Turks (figs. 365 and 366). The mosques of this city contain terra-cotta decorations; indeed, we may say that Persia has always been the home of the glazed tile.

Here are façades, friezes and arches covered with a profusion of perfectly

Fig. 350. — Detail of the Mirador of Lindaraja.

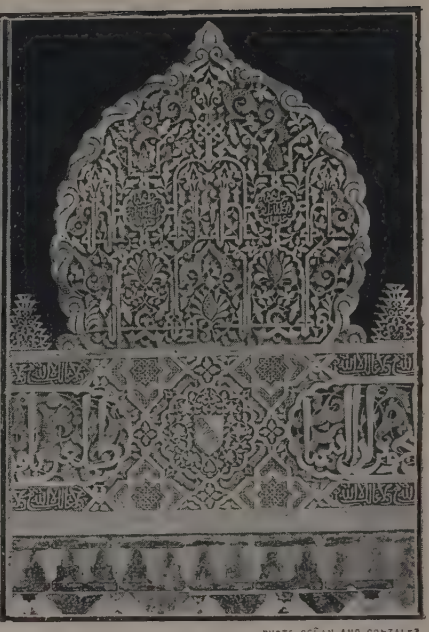

PHOTO SEÑAN AND GONZALEZ

Fig. 351.—Detail of the Court of the Myrtles.

fitted tiles. The arch of the mosque of Shah-Zindeh at Samarkand is entirely covered with tiles. Behind it on a near-by hill are the tombs of the Mogul conquerors, a singular cemetery of domed tumuli like the tombs of the Mamelukes near Cairo (fig. 364).

The cupolas of these tombs have a bulbous shape. In the light of recent discoveries, it is believed that this form was derived from the ancient Babylonian architecture. These domes are double; there is a lower interior one and another outer dome with a distended appearance and which is held on the drum by means of a series of radial beams of iron which are anchored so as to resist the thrust. The last of these tombs at Samarkand is that of Timur, which is ornamented with handsome tiles both inside and out. The square hall beneath the dome contains a number of honorary sarcophagi, but the great conqueror and his associates rest in a crypt beneath the floor.

PHOTO MIRDIA

Fig. 352. — Main court of the Sultan's palace. Fez.

The last and most glorious of the Moslem conquests was that of India, where Arab styles underwent a number of modifications which were later reflected in the Mohammedan lands of the West. In India the conquerors erected magnificent palaces of light construction and composed of courts and pavilions embellished with pools and gardens. Even the mosques and

Fig. 353.—Court of a private house. RABAT.

minarets suffered considerable alteration owing to the influence exerted by the structures the invaders found in India.

The first Moslem monuments constructed after this invasion are little known; indeed, the most famous, the palace-tombs of the Mogul Emperors at Agra, date only from the Seventeenth Century. By this time India was the most cultured country under Moslem rule and already in contact with Western European civilization. Portuguese explorers had opened the way for the Jesuits and other missionaries who have left us accounts and descriptions of the country and the magnificent Mogul court. European influence is plainly seen in the Taj-Mahal which was began in 1632 by Shah Jahan in memory of his queen. The main building is set upon a platform over eight hundred feet in breadth and lies in a splendid environment of pools and gardens (fig. 367). In the centre is the octagonal mausoleum which contains large niches and doorways leading to the other halls and ornamented with reliefs of white marble which are believed to be the work of a French sculptor from Bordeaux.

The dynasty of Mogul emperors in India was founded by Baber, a descendant of Timur. After an attempt to conquer Samarkand and reestablish the empire of his ancestor which had fallen to pieces as rapidly as it had been created, this prince fixed his attention on India and after a number of unsuccessful invasions finally conquered the country. He was the first of a line of bril-

Fig. 354.—Fortress of Aleppo. Syria.

liant rulers many of whom were writers and artists. He began the beautification of Agra which was continued by his successors, particularly his grandson, Akbar, who was one of the most interesting figures in Oriental history (fig. 369). The latter surrounded himself with writers and poets who have left many accounts of the splendor of his court. Akbar was succeeded by Jahangir who was followed by Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj-Mahal and other handsome structures at Agra.

It was the custom of these Mogul emperors of India to build a magnificent palace which was occupied by the court during the lifetime of the builder and which served as a mausoleum after his death. The tomb of the monarch and those of some of his wives were set in the centre of the main court or in the

PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 355.—Façade of the fortress of Aleppo.

PHOTO HAUSER AND MENET

Fig. 356.—Moorish walls. Seville.

principal hall of the palace. These palace-tombs are set amid large gardens with great monumental gateways. Unlike the schools of Spain and Morocco which modeled their decorations in stucco and gypsum, those of India worked in marble and other hard stone. In spite of the richness of detail, the whole is not lacking in grandeur. Fergusson tells us that the Moguls built like giants, but their sculptures were like goldsmith's work.

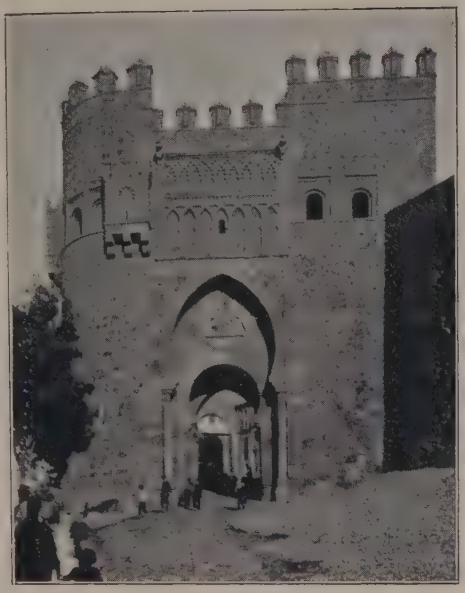

Fig. 357. — Puerta del Sol. Toledo.

Shah Jahan also built at Agra the Itimad-ud-Daula, a memorial of his father-in-law who was the treasurer of the Empire. This, too, is set upon a platform and embellished by gardens. The central hall is surrounded by eight others, and there are four minarets, or towers, at the corners like kiosks (fig. 368). In India the Moslems defended their cities with double and triple walls with gateways, moats and magnificent towers. Some of these military defenses are of extraordinary size like the walls of Benares, their holy city (fig. 372), the towers and gates of Delhi on the Ganges and the fortress at Gwalior. They learned their military architecture from the Byzantines. In Syria, for example, we find the great fortress at Aleppo, one of the most imposing in the world, set upon a hill overlooking the city.

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 358. — Interior of the Puerta de Toledo. Ciudad Real.

We should not neglect to mention the Turkish school and its handsome mosques at Brusa, Constantinople and Adrianople. Turkey has continued to produce splendid works which have not received the appreciation they deserve. We of the West are interested in Constantinople chiefly for its remains of the Byzantine Empire, but mosques

Fig. 359. — Old city-gate used as a house. RABAT.

like that of Suleiman the Magnificent with its domes and minarets are well worthy of comparison with St. Irene and St. Sophia.

It is difficult to cover the vast area of the Mohammedan world in a work of this character; nevertheless, there is everywhere a certain unity of style in the work of all the Moslem schools. Since the early Middle Ages there have never been such travellers as the Mohammedans who have always visited the holy places of their religion in great numbers. The annual pilgrimage to Mecca brought them from the most distant regions, and this has contributed greatly to the uniformity which we find in the decoration of their monuments in every land. Their flat reliefs without projecting elements, so suitable for a wall exposed to the desert sun, were also employed in the interior of their mosques, even in the mihrab itself, and their furnishings and articles of luxury were ornamented in the same manner. We find everywhere the same designs. In Northern Africa and India we see intricate patterns of arabesques and conventionalized leaves. The fauna and flora of the desert are represented; partly opened vine leaves, pomegranates and palms are interspersed with little tigers, gazelles and birds of handsome plumage. These forms, which we consider so typical of Moslem architecture, are also found in the earlier castles of Mesopotamia, and it is interesting to observe how the taste

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 360. — Interior of the Ceuta Gate. TETUAN.

Fig. 361.—Ancient gate of Mequinez. Morocco.

for geometrical patterns, tracery and intricate combinations of forms so characteristic of the peoples of the Orient has persisted in the most distant regions. The plant forms which we have already discussed have been conventionalized, their lines simplified and the various elements more and more contracted and reduced. The Moslem artist has always felt an instinctive dislike for the reproduction of forms in their natural state. When he made use of an antique marble frieze he frequently went so far as to alter the lovely curves of the acanthus leaves, transforming them with his chisel into geometrical patterns and carving new forms in the flexible mass. We find many Greek and Roman capitals disfigured in the mosques of Northern Africa and at Cordova. The bare Visigothic capitals, on the other hand, were rarely changed by the Mohammedan sculptor who set them upon his columns rude as they were.

Having discussed the architecture and decorations of these people, we will now make a brief survey of their sculpture and painting. Moslem carving in the round is extremely rare. Like all Oriental peoples, the Arabs felt a certain distaste for the representation of the human form; indeed, it was prohibited by the Koran. Nevertheless, we have accounts of a number of famous statues. Abd-er-Rahman, for example, set up a figure of his favorite wife in the palace of Medina-

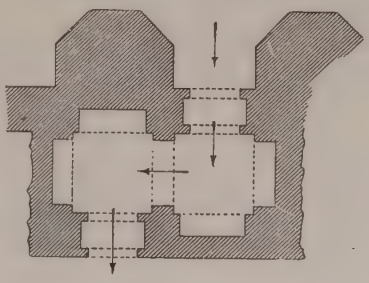

Fig. 362.—Gate of Bab-Zira. Tunis.

Fig. 363. — One of the gates of Fez.

Azahra, and adorned the fountain there with twelve golden animals. The lions ornamenting the fountain of that name in the Alhambra constitute another famous example of Moslem stone sculptures.

We also have literary accounts of decorative paintings containing portraits and other figures. The only pictures that have been preserved, however, can hardly be ascribed to Arab artists. One of these is the mural decoration in the castle of Amra on the Mesopotamian desert (fig. 310). This is still strongly influenced by Hellenistic traditions. In another hall we find a painting representing a number of persons together with a sultana coming out of the bath. An example often cited is the painting on leather in the Hall of Justice in the Alhambra. Here we find hunting scenes and tournaments, but they are now confidently ascribed to Italian artists employed by the kings of Granada.

Fortunately we still have many Moslem manuscripts containing miniatures,

Fig. 364.—The mosque of Shah-Zindeh and the tomb of Timur. SAMARKAND.

Fig. 365. — Mosque at Konia. ANATOLIA.

and these give us some idea of painting in the various Mohammedan countries. The sacred book of Islam is, of course, the Koran, which usually has a handsome frontispiece decorated with an interlaced pattern like a conventionalized rose. Books of a historical character and poems, on the other hand, contain scenes illustrating the text. The miniaturists of Persia and India are especially famous. Nowhere do we obtain a better conception of the refinement of these courts with their poets, musicians and philosophers than from these miniatures. In some we see the prince in tranquil conversation with his courtiers (fig. 374), and in others are hunting and war scenes. We also find portraits simply sketched with skilful strokes of the brush (figs. 375).

The Moslem articles of luxury are works of extraordinary beauty and are even superior, perhaps, to any of the decorative art of Western Europe. The Arabs first learned this art from the Sassanian artists of Persia and Mesopotamia and never wearied of reproducing the two favorite themes of the ancient art of the Orient, the tree of life, which we find on the silver *oenochoe* of Sassanian workmanship, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fig. 376), and

Fig. 366. — Tombs of the Seljuk sultans in the mosque of Ala-Uddin. *Konia.*

Fig. 367. — The Taj-Mahal. *Agra.* India.

the two animals facing one another who guard the tree. We also reproduce the enameled gold cup of Chosroes I in order to show that the Sassanian art of Persia was the connecting link between the art of the Moslem peoples and the themes of ancient Assyria and Babylonia (fig. 378). In the centre of this cup is the portrait of Chosroes seated on this throne and surrounded by a mosaic of enameled rosettes. Many ritual objects of repoussé work of Moslem origin were used in Christian worship (fig. 379).

In Egypt the Arabs learned from the Coptic artists who, as we have already seen, had developed a school of their own. In Spain they profited by the Visigothic buildings which they found in that country. From these various elements they created a style of their own which, up to a certain point, exerted an

Mimbar of the mosque of Ala-Uddin at Konia, the ancient Iconium. ANATOLIA.

Fig. 368. — Tomb of Itimad-el-Daula. India.

influence on the tastes of mediaeval Europe. The most important articles that have come down to us are the furnishings of the mosques, especially the mimbars, or pulpits, for the reading of the Koran. Some of these are very ancient, such as the mimbars of the mosques of Damascus and of Konia, the Seljuk capital. (Plate XXIII.)

Their ivory carvings were unrivalled; particularly the caskets ornamented with flat reliefs that we find in many Spanish cathedrals serving as reliquaries and to contain the host. The largest of these caskets is the one existing in the cathedral at Pamplona and is from Sangüesa. (Plate XXIV.) It is rectangular, and both the cover and the casket itself are covered with reliefs. Round four sides runs a legend imploring the blessing of God,

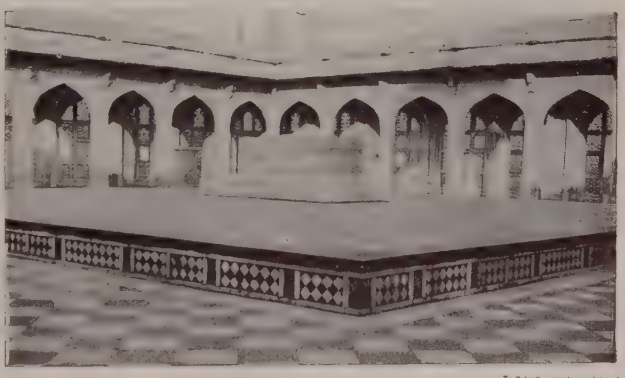

Fig. 369. — Tomb of Akbar not far from Agra. India.

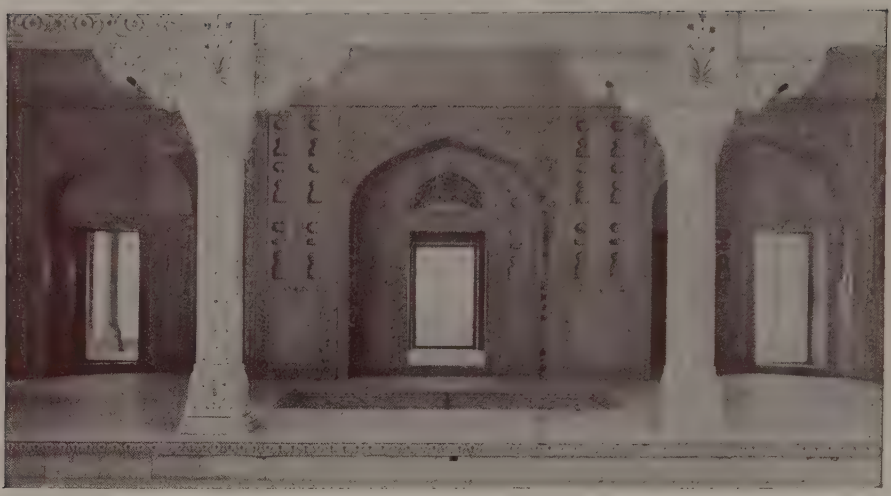

Fig. 370. — Interior of the Tower of the Jasmines. *Agra.* India.

happiness and a long life for Almanzor. It also bears the name of the artist who directed the work, an eunuch by the name of Nomeir-ben-Mohammed, who seems to have been the head of the Caliph's own shop. The other names engraved on the medallions are probably those of the artists who carved the various reliefs. There is a similar casket in the cathedral at Braga in Portugal.

The Museo Arqueológico Nacional at Madrid possesses an Arab casket similar to the casket that is found at Pamplona (Navarra). It was presented to

TECHNO-PHOTO ARCHIV

Fig. 371. — Palace of Akbar. *Fatepur Sikri. Agra.* India.

Fig. 372. — Walls and gates of Benares. India.

king Alphonso XIII by the canons of Palencia who had refused many offers for it from foreigners. According to its inscription, the Palencia casket formerly belonged to Abd-el-Melek, the chief minister of Alhakem II who was one of the caliphs of Cordova (fig. 380).

Sometimes these Moslem caskets are of cylindrical form, the cover being either flat or hemispherical as in the case of that of Almuqueira, the son of Abd-er-Rahman III (fig. 381). There are others in the South Kensington Museum, Narbonne Cathedral and a number of private collections.

The Orient is famous for its ceramic art, one in which all Mohammedan peoples displayed marvelous imagination and technical skill. In Mesopotamia the traditions of the ancient schools of Babylonia and Assyria had never been completely forgotten, and along the Euphrates and in Persia the Sassanian architects had continued to use the glazed tiles characteristic of the older civilizations. The Mohammedan craftsmen of Mesopotamia and Persia taught their art to their neighbors in Egypt who passed it on to the potters of Northern Africa and Spain in all its many forms. The ceramic art of the Persians, however, is the finest. Their plates are exquisitely decorated with patterns of blue, green and gold, which are the predominant colors. In the centre is a cavalier, a lion or the tree of life.

Of the centres of production of that Arabic pottery which was held in such high esteem by Moslem travellers and praised with such unrestrained enthusiasm we do not know as much as we should like. In Persia, just as in Egypt and Spain, the rubbish dumpings of some factories

Fig. 373. — Mosque of Peking. China.

Fig. 374. — Persian miniatures. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

and even remains of the ancient kilns have been found, but the classification and co-ordination of these materials still leave much to be desired. Nevertheless, to the factories of Rhages in Persia can be assigned a whole series of vases and tiles in shades of blue and green colors which show an incomparable force of design. Rhages was destroyed in 1220, so that the period of its faience work is fixed as falling before that date.

In Mesopotamia the pottery of Rakka, near Aleppo, can be similarly dated because that city was destroyed in 1259 by the Tartar, Khulagu Khan.

Less fortunate in other fields, we lack precise information concerning the Turkish factories of Kutahia and those of Damascus and Rhodes, although it would appear that their products are of the Sixteenth Century. In Egypt the remains of the kilns of Fostat or Old Cairo were discovered a few years ago, and this was of great assistance in the elucidation of the history of the Arabic pottery of Egypt.

This movement of ceramic art from East to West is evident from the fact that the most ancient examples preserved in Spain and Northern Africa, such as the mihrab of the mosque at Kairawan, are plainly importations from Bagdad.

The Spanish potters, first those of Malaga and later those of Valencia, imitated the colors and forms employed by the craftsmen of Persia and Mesopotamia. In the course of time, however, they developed a technique of their own

Ivory casket of the period of the Caliphate. *(Treasure of Pamplona Cathedral.)*

Cover of the ivory casket in Pamplona Cathedral.

Fig. 375. — Persian miniatures. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

which is seen in their vases and jars ornamented with gold designs and in their characteristic blue tiles.

The early work of the Malaga potteries is still little known. When the Alcazaba was torn down in 1910, a number of fragments of earthenware were found, plates and vessels in which the manganese and green so typical of the Byzantine ware predominate. To these potteries are ascribed the great jars of the Alhambra and the one which found its way to the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd.

Even after the industry had been abandoned at Malaga and its chief centre was at Valencia, manufacture of a ware, called *Tierra de Malaca,* or *Malica* in documents and contracts, was continued. The Valencia potteries, which were mostly at Burjassot and Manises, employed only two colors, a gold and a deep-blue of a very fine luster. Manganese and green continued to be the favorite colors at Paterna and Teruel and in other works where common pottery was manufactured. The Fifteenth Century was the great period of the arts and crafts of Valencia. All the artistic talent of the Confederacy of Catalonia and Aragon was attracted to the valley of the Turia, and the ceramic ware of this region was highly prized both at home and abroad. The Venetian senate suspended

Fig. 376. — Sassanian vase.
(Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Fig. 377. — Sassanian silver vase.
(Stroganoff Collection.)

its prohibitive tariff in its favor, and it was also carried to Bruges and Cairo from which places it was distributed to every part of the Occident and Orient. Famous connoisseurs like King René of Anjou and the Medicis collected these vases which were the work of the successors of the Moorish potters of Paterna and Manises (figs. 382, 383 and 384). Servile imitations were manufactured in Tuscany; the Florentine ware of this period is nothing more than a poor copy of the Valencian, reproducing in the classical land of the Renaissance the blue and gold arabesques and the conventionalized leaves of Moslem Spain. During the last part of the Fifteenth Century however, a certain Italian influence affected the Morisco-pottery of Valencia (figs. 390 and 391). Tiles with a blue and gold luster were also used in the decoration of the floors and walls in Spain as in Persia. Some of these glazed tiles are still to be seen in the Alhambra. The most beautiful is the famous plaque which formerly belonged to the Fortuny collection and was later acquired by the Osma collection. It bears an inscription containing the name of Yusuf III of Granada. These plaques and

Remains of the tent of Sultan An Nasir; also known as the *Pendón de las Navas.* *(Monasterio de las Huelgas.)* BURGOS.

tiles were imitated in the factories in the neighborhood of Valencia. Their predominating blue color *(azul)* gives them their Spanish name of *azulejos,* and they are also called *rajolas.* The *rajolas* were later produced on a large scale in Barcelona, but they lacked the freedom of the Valencia decorations which were painted without the use of a fixed pattern. The Morisco potters of Seville produced another type of ware called *cuerda seca.* Here the colors were separated, before being fired, by small partitions of fat and manganese which formed compartments into which the enamel was poured.

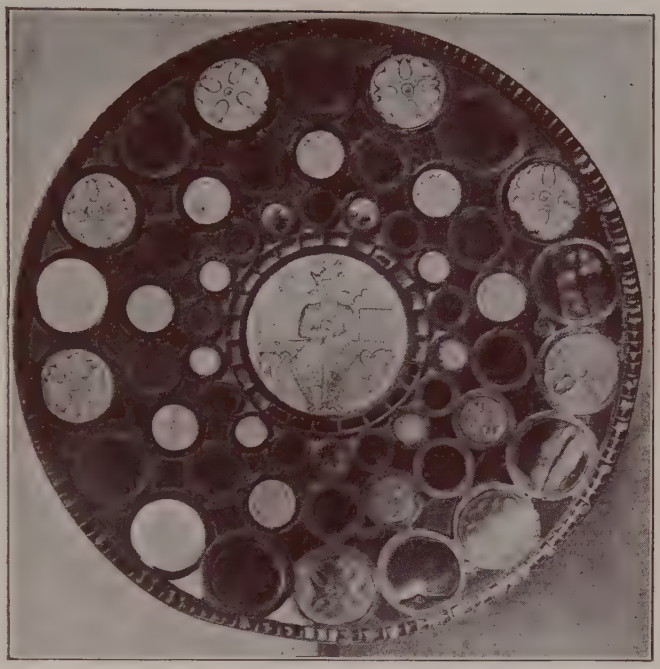

Fig. 378. — Enameled gold cup of Chosroes I. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

One of the best examples of Moslem bronze-work is the griffin in the Campo Santo at Pisa. It was believed to have been brought from Egypt, but it is now thought by some authorities that it came from Mallorca which was conquered in the Twelfth Century by the Pisans who were the allies of Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona (figs. 385 to 387).

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 379. — Casket relicary of the cathedral of Gerona.

Perhaps the finest work of the Moslem craftsmen was in their carpets and textiles. Here, too, they had learned much from the Copts, Byzantines and Sassanians, although they added the feature of Arabic

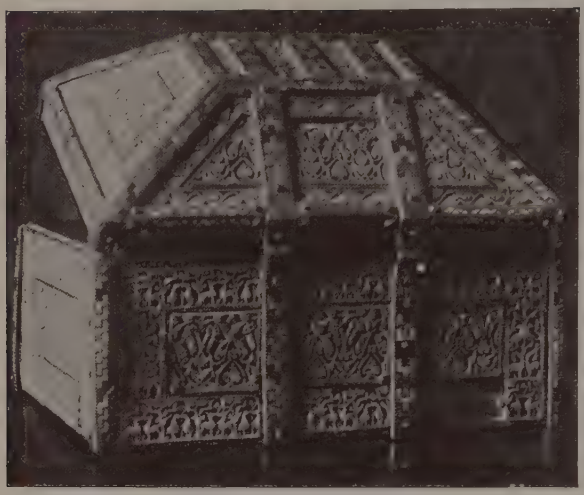

Fig. 380. — Arab casket formerly in Palencia Cathedral. *(Archaeological Museum.)* MADRID.

characters used as a decoration. It is probable that the Egyptians were acquainted with carpets and used them. In the tomb of Cyrus, according to Arrianus, there was a magnificent Babylonian carpet spread on the ground while another covered the sarcophagus. The Greeks admired the carpets of the Persians. In the interview which the satrap Pharnabazus gave to Agesilaus of Sparta, the Lacedemonian king seated himself on the grass while the slaves of Pharnabazus spread out on the ground magnificent carpets. During the Hellenistic period the Greeks must have used Persian carpets in Antioch and Alexandria. "Persian cloths covering the space where the guests walked" are mentioned in Athenaeus. Pliny also mentions Babylonian woven cloths of divers colors. Those with figures of monsters from the East were mentioned among the extravagances of Heliogabalus.

Fig. 381. — Arab casket of Almuqueira. *(Louvre.)*

In the Middle Ages Oriental carpets are found almost without exception in the royal inventories and the cathedral treasures. They are mentioned in literature and appear covering the floor and the altar tables in very ancient pictures. The name baldachin itself is derived from Baldak or Bagdad for in many cases the baldachin was an Oriental carpet used

Fig. 382. — Hispano-Mauresque pottery.
(South Kensington Museum.)

Fig. 383. — Hispano-Mauresque jar.

as a canopy. Carpets were introduced into Europe by the Spanish Arabs and the Venetians. Constantinople was then the centre of the carpet-trade and has remained so to this day. In that city there took place before the war the greater part of the sales of Persian, Anatolian and Mesopotamian carpets. Each one of these countries has a special technique for weaving its carpets and arranging their characteristic designs and colors, although the same combinations or patterns are never exactly repeated. For this reason it has been said that there are no two oriental carpets exactly alike in the world. This is due to the especial manner of making the carpets which are not manufactured in large factories but made by individual families who follow their own artistic instincts and not the directions of a shop-foreman. Until very recently Oriental carpets were dyed with vegetable materials. In modern times

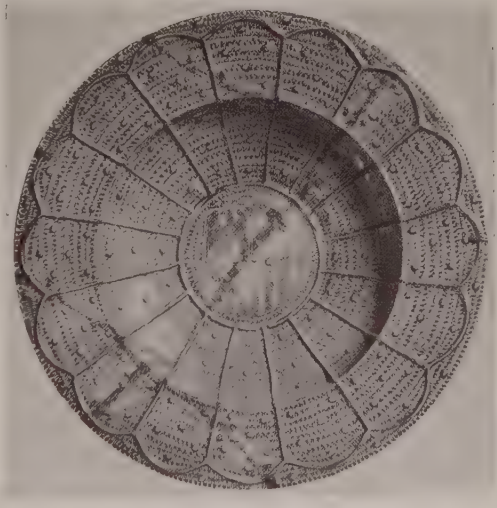

Fig. 384. — Hispano-Mauresque plate.
(Stroganoff Collection.)

Fig. 385. — Bronze pitcher. *(Stern Collection.)* PARIS.

Fig. 386. — Bronze deer from Medina Azahra. *(Museum of Cordova.)*

aniline dyes are used which lose their brilliancy and even injure the fabric and shorten its life.

The Frankish Kings of Jerusalem encouraged this industry during their occupation of the country, and the Caliphs of Egypt and the Moslem rulers of Spain were all either founders or patrons of this craft. Arab historians like Eldrisi and El-Makari speak of Almeria as the district in which the finest textiles of their time were produced. Jaen and Seville also manufactured large quantities of silk fabrics. Later, the principal factories were at Granada. The Fifteenth Century products of the weavers of Granada are famous for the beautiful coloring of their interlaced designs (figs. 388 and 389 and Plate XXV).

PHOTO RUGAIN

Fig. 387. — Bronze griffin. *(Campo Santo.)* PISA.

Examples of these fabrics are found in many collections. They have a splendor and luster that is unequaled. Some of the Spanish cathedrals used them for ritual purposes. There is one at Lerida which is perfectly preserved; its predominating colors are red and gold. (Plate XXVI.)

At the present time many of these Moslem industries still exist

Moorish fabric. *(Lerida Cathedral.)* SPAIN.

Fig. 388. — Arab fabric from Granada. *(Museum of Barcelona.)* SPAIN.

and keep to their traditional forms. We still go to Persia for our finest rugs, and the silks of India are unequaled in the West. Turkey and Egypt, modernized as they are, still build some of their edifices in the old Moslem style and free from imitations of the neoclassical forms of the Occident.

Summary. — Before the time of Mahomet the Arabs had practically no artistic traditions. In Mesopotamia they imitated the Christian architecture of Syria and the Sassanian castles. Their first mosque of importance was that of Omar at Jerusalem which is almost a Byzantine monument. The typical early mosque, however, was a great court, one side of which lay toward Mecca. Here we find a niche called the mihrab, the holy of holies toward which the prayers of the Mohammedans are directed. An early mosque of this type is found near Bagdad. Soon they began to add to this court several rows of columns on the side where the mihrab was situated which formed a sort of sanctuary, not unlike a basilica, with its aisles separated by lines of columns. The first Egyptian mosques were of this type, but they later constructed others in the shape of a Greek cross, with four divisions for the

Fig. 389. — Moslem Spanish fabric of silk and gold.

four Mohammedan rites. The first mosque of Northern Africa is that of Kairawan near Tunis. In Spain we still have the mosque at Cordova which was the capital of the Western Caliphate. Here, too, are the remains of the buildings of importance. India was the last conquest of the Moslems, and later the Mogul Emperors erected in this country many handsome buildings. These are magnificently decorated in the most fanciful manner. We know little of Moslem sculpture, but numerous manuscripts have come down to us which are embellished with Persian and Moslem Indian miniatures. In the field of industrial art, the Moslem countries are famous for their beautiful ivory carvings, ceramic ware and fabrics.

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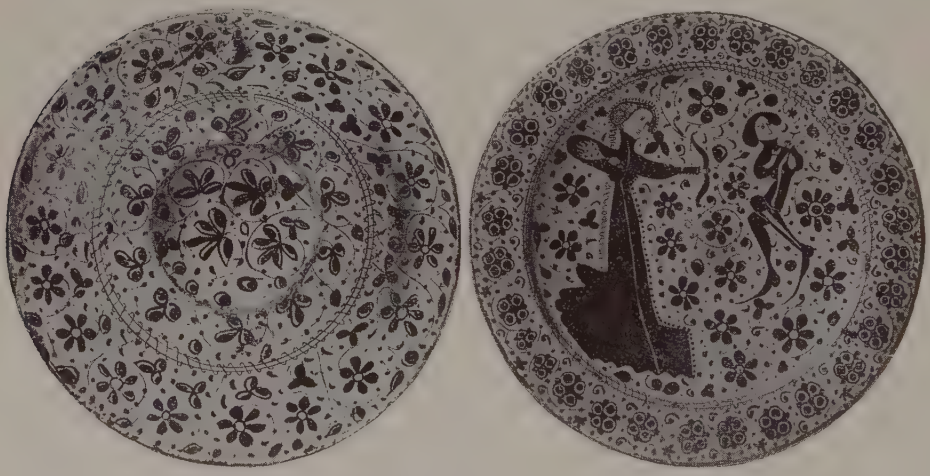

Figs. 390 and 391. — Hispano-Mauresque plates from Valencia.

Fig. 392. — Doorway of the church of St. Trophîme. Arles.

CHAPTER XI

ROMANESQUE ART. — ARCHITECTURAL STYLE.
THE ROMANESQUE SCHOOLS OF FRANCE PRIOR TO THE CLUNY REFORM.
ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN FRANCE.
MINOR ARTS. — GOLDSMITH'S WORK, ENAMELS ETC.

The term, Romanesque art, now includes all the products of Western European art belonging to the period from the Eleventh up to the Thirteenth Century. The barbarian peoples had, by now, amalgamated with the Latinized population of the old Roman colonies, and their descendants had acquired sufficient knowledge of the technique of classical architecture and decorative art to give a certain unity to this culture which was, in a way, a reflection of that of the ancient world. The very phrase, Romanesque art, is an allusion to the elements which it took from the art of ancient Rome. Just as the vernacular tongues derived from the Latin which grew up among the peoples of Southern and Western Europe are called the Romance languages, so the artistic forms of this period of the Middle Ages in which we find more or less of Roman culture

Fig. 393. — The structure of a Romanesque church. *(Clermont-Ferrand Cathedral.)*

preserved are called Romanesque, and we have Romanesque style, Romanesque art etc. It is significant, however, that just as the neo-Latin languages were not corrupted forms of the literary Latin but were derived from the vernacular of the later Roman Empire, so Romanesque art was not based upon the styles and methods of the imperial art of Rome. It grew out of the structural styles which had developed in the provinces and were often very different from those of the Capital.

The geographical area covered by Romanesque art was coextensive with that of the Western Empire. First of all came Italy, although it was more or less subject to Byzantine influence during this period; then Gaul, especially Provence which had been Romanized to such an extent that it was almost another Rome. Next in order came Spain, the Rhineland and Britain, though the last was too much affected by the Celtic spirit to participate fully in the general movement.

Chronologically speaking, we might fix upon the year 1000 as the starting-point of the Romanesque period which lasted until the ogival art of France was generally adopted by the various countries of Western Europe in the first part of the Thirteenth Century. Before the year 1000, Germanic ideas were more or less predominant throughout the Occident, and we can hardly apply the term, Romanesque, to this period, for not even in Charlemagne's time was there any genuine knowledge of classical art. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Irish monks and their schools and academies of classical learning, and with all the study of the Bible and the books of the Church Fathers, Charlemagne's court was at heart barbarian in the sense that it was not Roman and was lacking in that Latin fineness of feeling which is still characteristic of the nations of Southern Europe. Its jewels, the miniatures of its manuscripts and its customs were still Germanic; and this barbarian consciousness, if we may use the term, of the warriors and monks of Western Europe endured until the beginning of the Eleventh Century. The Carolingian period ended about the year 1000, and it was at this time that the Romanesque really began. Whether it was because Christendom felt a new confidence once the terrors of the millenium were past, or because of the development of monastic life in the West, a passion for building began to sweep over Gaul, Spain and the other former Roman provinces and covered these lands with new monuments. In the oft quoted words of a monk of the period, Raul Glaber, after the year 1000, Christendom was clad in so many churches that the land seemed to wear a new garment of radiant white. In the work and emulation occasioned by so many new buildings, the monks

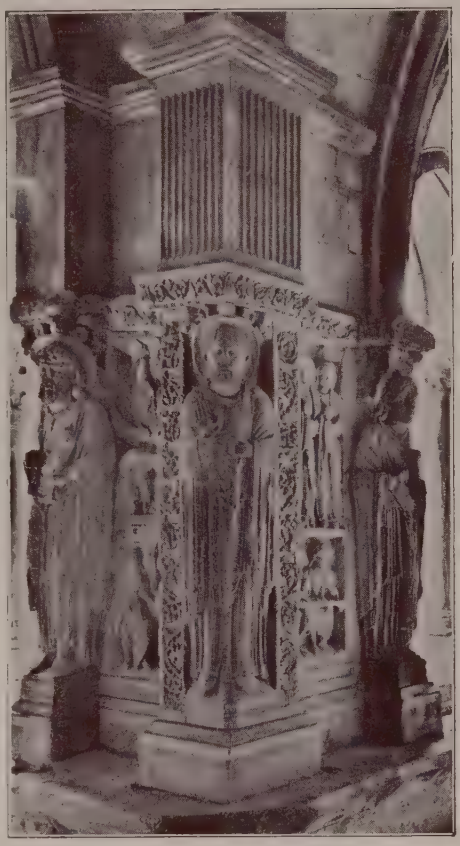

Fig. 394. — Cloister of St. Trophîme. Arles.

became familiar with the already existing structural methods and also essayed many bold innovations. The Romanesque period is mainly characterized by the increased importance of the vault as an architectural feature, and this involved a technique not to be acquired without much practice.

The former provinces of the Empire were still covered with the remains of ancient buildings, and the mediaeval monks gained much of their architectural knowledge from a study of the great vaulted baths and the corridors of the amphitheatres. In some regions where building-stone was plentiful, the Romans had constructed their vaults of this material, and the builders of the Middle Ages imitated these rather than the more typical Roman construction at the capital which was of brick and of concrete covered over with stucco. The Romanesque monuments are, for the most part, of stone, and their vaults are of hewn stone blocks as well. Barrel-vaults are usually employed, often reinforced with heavy transverse ribs supported by pilasters which are set along the cylindrical vault of the roof at intervals. These ribs, or reenforcing arches, were not unknown to the Roman architects, for we find them in the vaults of the Nymphaeum at Nimes, the amphitheatre at Arles and many of the buildings in the Orient, where they also support a stone roof. We have already noted the important part played by these reenforcing arches in the Christian churches of Syria; but it is probable that the Romanesque builders of Western Europe copied this feature from the Roman structures which they found at home, and we have no reason to believe that any influence was exerted by the distant Orient.

The barrel-vault with its transverse ribs was not the only one employed by the architects of this period; we also find both the groined vault and the dome. In churches with a nave and two aisles, the nave was often covered with a barrel-vault and the aisles, with half-barrel or groined vaults which were designed to resist the lateral thrust of the roof of the nave (fig. 393). Where there were transepts, the crossing would be covered with a dome. Now when two cylindrical vaults intersected in this manner, the Romans employed a groined vault, but the monks and architects of the Middle Ages preferred a cupola. This

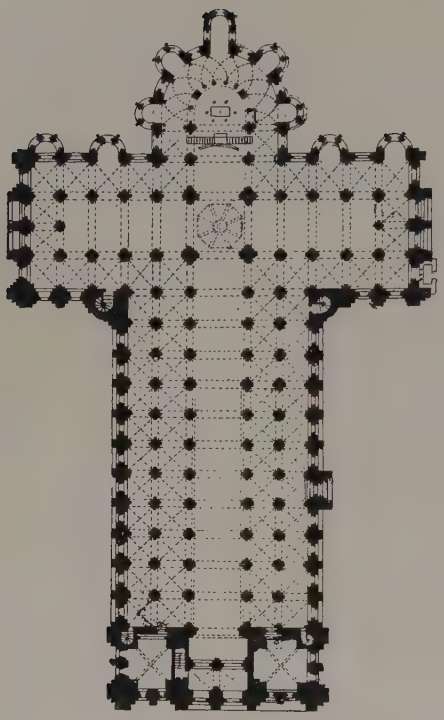

Fig. 395. — Plan of St. Saturnin. Toulouse.

was a rather rude stone dome, sometimes raised from the perpendicular walls below upon a drum. Rising above the roof of the church, its exterior took the form of a tower, except in the case of the in extrados cupolas of France and Spain. Here the curve of the dome was outlined above the roof.

Most of the structures that have come down to us from this period are churches. Their plan is fairly uniform and recalls that of the old basilica with its nave and aisles, only these churches are apt to have transepts as well. The usual arrangement is a nave with or without two aisles, in rarer cases four, which sometimes cross the transepts and continue around the apse, forming an apse-aisle opening into chapels. The apse-aisle really belongs to the great churches of the later Romanesque period which were built by the monks of Cluny, but we find it in some of the earlier structures as well. The dome either rests upon four squinches at the corners of the square, or else pendentives are employed to pass from a square to a circle. Sometimes the nave with its barrel-vault is composed of sections twice the size of the adjoining aisle. In that case an intermediate column alternates with the piers.

Both the ignorance of the Romanesque architects and the small respect they felt for classical forms gave them considerable freedom of action. They were not subject to precise rules in their use of columns and piers, and their churches could be raised as high as stability permitted. Whether cylindrical or polygonal columns were employed, they were composed of blocks of convenient size, as was the remainder of the structure. In barbarian architecture, on the other hand, the shafts of the columns were monolithic, and the old Roman buildings were often plundered to supply them. The Romanesque capital shows considerable variation; the simplest type consists of a square stone block rounded somewhat on its under side where it joins the shaft of the column. Usually, however, these capitals are ornamented either with leaves in imitation of the Corinthian column, or else with interwoven patterns which recall the geometrical designs of the Carolingian period. Other favorite themes of the Romanesque sculptors were conventionalized animal figures, lions and griffins, such as they had seen on the Persian fabrics and the ivories and arms imported from the Orient. We even find on these Romanesque capitals series of Biblical

Fig. 396. — Exterior of the church of St. Saturnin. Toulouse.

representations, scenes from Genesis and the New Testament, as well as those taken from the farm life and industries of the Middle Ages.

The column is usually supported by what is a simple imitation of the old Attic base, but we often find between the round moulding and the square plinth sculptural decorative motives such as small leaves or conventionalized animals. This ornamental device employed to pass from the square to the circle also existed in classical art, as we see from the Roman columns of Pozzuoli and the forum at Pompeii.

Usually the architrave has disappeared from the Romanesque structures. Above the capital or along the springer of the vault we often find a plain moulding or abacus, although this is sometimes ornamented with figures and plantforms in relief. On the exterior, the wall of the façade sometimes terminates in ornamental strips of mouldings, but we also find an architectural decoration in the form of an arched corbel-table supporting the eaves. The abutments of the vaults are usually inside the building and consist of the pilasters upon which the transverse ribs rest; but we do sometimes see on the exterior of the structure rudimentary buttresses marking the position of the ribs of the vault inside. Many of these churches were attached to monasteries, and as the monks entered from their convent, the façade would not assume the same importance as on a parish church or cathedral. In any case they are a notable contrast to the artistic façades of the Gothic cathedrals of a later period. The latter were the work of the people themselves who enriched them with elaborate doorways filled with statues and reliefs.

We find a number of devices employed to light the Romanesque churches.

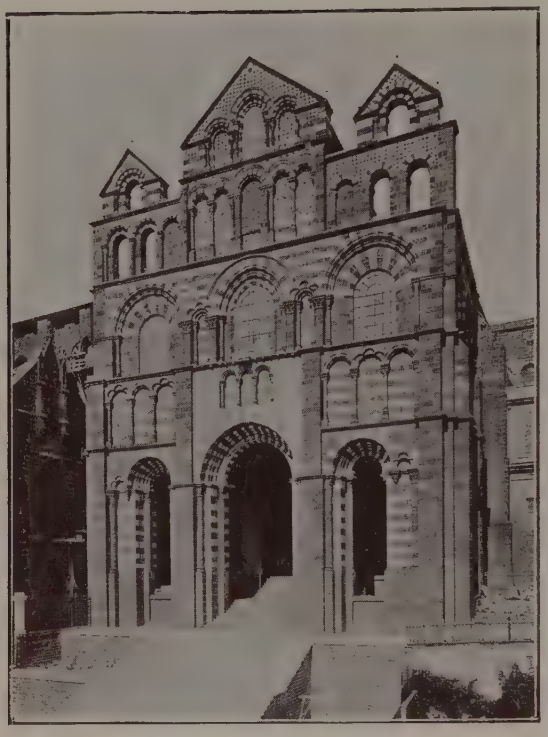

Fig. 397.—Le Puy Cathedral.

Sometimes the nave is higher than the aisles and lighted by a clear-story as in the old basilicas. In others the light is admitted only through the windows of the cupola above the crossing and the rose window in the façade. Many of these churches are oriented in the same manner as the early Christian basilicas; whenever possible they preserved the tradition of building the structure so that the nave extended east and west. When it was an abbey-church, the cloister was usually set upon the south side in order that it might not lie in the shadow of the church in the winter.

We are still more or less ignorant as to the manner in which Romanesque art originated and the causes of its development. The distribution of the various local schools has not yet been precisely determined, nor have the lines been traced along which this art spread from one region to another. We find everywhere a certain uniformity in the elements employed, which may be due to the fact that this art was largely the work of the Benedictine order, at this time the only one in Western Europe. Nevertheless the different schools can be distinguished by their manner of arranging the buildings and especially by the methods of vaulting employed in the various groups of churches.

We shall begin with the French schools in our study of Romanesque art, for it is here that its development proceeded along the most normal lines. They were not, as in Spain, in contact with an exotic and advanced people like the Arabs, nor, as in Italy, were they constantly under the spell of the ancient classical monuments.

Of all the French schools the one which clung most closely to the old Roman forms was that of Provence; here certain façades like those at Arles may be considered the last productions of a moribund Roman art. Some doubts have now arisen as to whether these Provençal façades are, in point of time, the earliest examples of French Romanesque architecture, but in style and spirit they are certainly the closest to the old Roman tradition. Built of large blocks of stone instead of the smaller ones so typical of Romanesque architecture, the aisles resist the lateral thrust of the cylindrical vault of the nave and are conse-

quently covered with half-barrel-vaults. Over the crossing there is usually a tower from which the nave of the church is lighted. The most characteristic feature of the exterior of the building is the ornamentation of the façade by means of small columns. In proportion and general appearance these greatly resemble the Corinthian columns and those of the friezes of the ancient Christian sarcophagi (figs. 392, 394 and Plate XXVII). The most important churches of the Provençal group are those of Carpentras, Cavaillon, St. Gilles and St. Trophîme at Arles, and the cathedral at Avignon. The churches at Arles are famous for their façades, but the interiors of both are extremely plain with but few sculptures. The church of St. Trophîme appears to have been consecrated in 1152. Not far from the Provençal school is that of Aquitaine which is to the south and east of the Loire. The most important monument of this school is the great collegiate church of Toulouse which was dedicated to St. Saturnin. It is a magnificent basilica composed of a nave, four aisles, a cupola and an apse-aisle. The last is a continuation of two of the aisles which extend behind the high altar, and out of it open a number of chapels (fig. 395). The apse-aisle is essentially French and was most important in its consequences. We shall see later that the Romanesque cathedrals of the Rhine country do not possess this feature. Architecturally speaking, the church of St. Saturnin is, perhaps, the finest example in France dating from the Romanesque period. In studying the arrangement of its apse-aisle and chapels, we are reminded of the Merovingian church of St. Martin at Tours. Here the tomb of the Saint was also surrounded by a hemicycle which is possibly the first example in France of this characteristic feature. Except in the apse-aisle, we do not find in the Toulouse school any fixed system of vault construction. Sometimes the aisles are covered with half-barrel-vaults, and again with groined vaults of either one or two stories. Languedoc was at this time the most brilliant cultural centre in Western Europe, and we can readily see that its architects would take advantage of the most advanced methods which might appear in the neighbouring pro-

Fig. 398. — Angoulême Cathedral.

Fig. 399. — Notre-Dame-la-Grande. Poitiers.

vinces. Just as mediaeval poetry in the vulgar tongue first began to appear in the court of Toulouse, so we find the Romanesque architecture of Languedoc more mature and advanced than elsewhere. The customs of the people, the administration of the State and the political liberty of Toulouse — the last almost an anticipation of modern society — stood out in strong contrast to the institutions of the country beyond the Loire. These two nations were bound to clash, and the heresy of the Albigenses provoked the crusade of Simon de Montfort and furnished the excuse for the destruction of the State of Toulouse and its annexation to France.

This event resulted in the emigration of most of the artists of Provence and the spread of their art over Italy and Spain. It is well known that the Troubadours of Provence were welcome guests at the courts of Castile, Aragon and Sicily. The same must have been true of the artists, although this movement has been less studied. Provençal influences can be observed in the reliefs of Antelami, one of the early Romanesque sculptors of Modena, and we know they

Fig. 400. — Detail of the façade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande. Poitiers.

Detail of the façade of the church of St. Trophîme, Arles.

Fig. 401. — General view of St. Front. Périgueux.

were felt in Catalonia. This is seen in the marble door of the old cathedral at Barcelona which has been left in the cloister of the present Gothic structure. Mateo, the famous sculptor of the Puerta de la Gloria in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, must have taken advantage of this dispersal of the artists of Provence and taken lessons of them, just as the Galician poets learned from the Troubadours.

Another Romanesque school was that of Auvergne in central France to which belong some of the most important monuments of the period, such as the Puy Cathedral, the churches of Clermont and Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers.

In this district the churches of a certain size always have the apse-aisle and two-storied lateral aisles. The lower story was covered with a groined vault and the upper one formed the gallery. Auvergne, which is geographically in the centre of France, now seems to be considered the first centre of Romanesque art. The Puy Cathedral was consecrated in 966 which was much earlier than the church of St. Saturnin at Toulouse and those at Arles which we have mentioned as typical examples of Provençal architecture. The churches of Auvergne, however, are much plainer, suggesting that their decorators had before them only the Gallo-Roman art of central France which was less refined than that of Provence. On the exterior of these churches, the lateral walls have a purely architectural ornamentation of large blind arches, while on the façade we find the stone blocks of contrasting colors arranged in pleasing combinations which we have already noted in the architecture of the Carolingian period (fig. 397). This part of central France is of volcanic formation and abounds in a bluish basaltic rock which harmonizes well with the yellow limestone of the country.

Sometimes the frontispiece is flanked by high false façades over the aisles as on Le Puy Cathedral, or by low towers roofed with stone as in the case of

Fig. 402.—Interior of the church of St. Front, Périgueux.

Angoulême Cathedral and Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers (figs. 398 and 399). At Angoulême we find ornamental arches like those of Le Puy decorating the façade; but instead of contrasting colors, they are ingeniously arranged so as to form niches containing sculptures. The same system was adopted in the decoration of the elegant church of Notre Dame at Poitiers which has come down to us almost intact (fig. 400). As the latter is not so ambitious a structure as the Angoulême Cathedral, the contrast between the art of the sculptor and that of the architect is not so evident, and the result is that the entire composition is more harmonious.

We see in these churches a growing tendency to supplant the barrel-vault with cupolas. In the Angoulême Cathedral the nave is covered with domes, and the same element is prominent in the churches of Cahors, Solignac and many others in central France. The best known example of a series of domes forming the outstanding feature of the church is in St. Front at Périgueux. Here are five large cupolas supported by pendentives which rest upon rectangular piers. It appears to be a Romanesque application of the system employed in the Byzantine churches of St. Mark at Venice and the SS. Apostles at Constantinople (figs. 401 and 402).

Fig. 403. — Walls and towers of La Cité. CARCASSONNE.

This extraordinary architectural feature of St. Front was long explained by supposed Venetian influences, for the Venetians had a sort of commercial colony at Limoges from which an extensive commerce was carried on in central France. Today, however, the subject has been opened again by investigators who have sought to find precedents for this remarkable building in France itself. As a matter of fact, the church of St. Front resembles the brick Byzantine edifices only in its plan. With its five high stone domes, it differs utterly from them both in structure and proportions. After all, St. Front is not an isolated

Fig. 404. — General view of the city and fortress. FOIX.

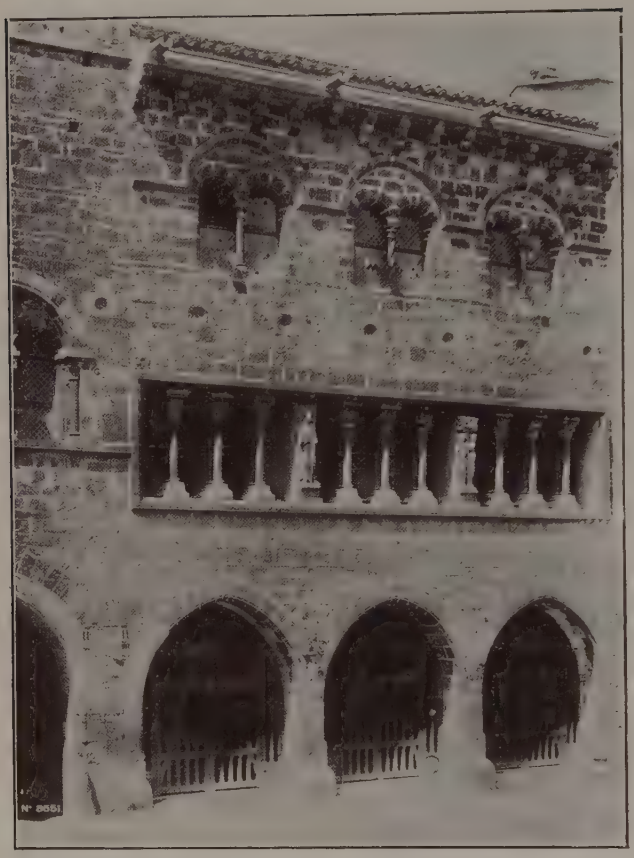

Fig. 405. – Romanesque town-hall of Saint Antonin.
Tarn-et-Garonne.

monument. We have already seen that Angoulême Cathedral is equipped with domes and that Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers has cupola-like towers. Moreover, the church of St. Front has been restored in recent years by architects who were strongly influenced by this Byzantine theory, so we really cannot tell how much of the original structure was French and how much due to the Oriental tastes of the Venetians. It has been more or less imitated by the tasteless modern cathedrals which have been erected at enormous expense with a view of arousing religious sentiment in France, notably the basilica of the Sacré Coeur on the summit of Montmartre at Paris and the church of Notre Dame de Fourvière upon the hill overlooking Lyons.

Another school, the Burgundian, was of humble beginnings, but its effects were incalculable, for it was to produce the art of the Cistercian order, an offshoot of the Benedictine. In this part of central France, the builders devoted themselves to the study of the Middle Ages. The Burgundian architects were the first to substitute the ribbed vault for the plain Roman groined vaults in the lateral aisles. Later, they went so far as to do the same in the nave, giving these vaults an ever widening span. The most prominent example was the Abbey of Cluny which was constructed between the years 1088 and 1131. But as this great Benedictine monastery became the centre of an art which later spread throughout Western Europe, a special chapter will be devoted to the Cluniac style. A school which was also to produce important results was that of Royal France which comprised the territory in the neighborhood of Paris. Here was the ancient Merovingian pantheon, the Church of St. Denis, erected by Dagobert, restored in the Eighth Century and again rebuilt by Suger. In the words of

the latter: "It was in the Year of our Lord 1140 that the temple was consecrated... Its plans had been outlined with the greatest care by means of arithmetical and geometrical instruments, and an innovation was introduced which was at once beautiful and noteworthy. This was a deambulatory, or circle of chapels. By this means the inside is now admirably bathed in light which gradually spreads over the interior and clothes it with beauty." Suger goes on to tell of the miracles which accompanied the building of the church and the enthusiasm of the people of the surrounding country who volunteered their services in its construction.

Fig. 406. — Romanesque town-hall of Saint Antonin *(restored by Viollet-le-Duc).*

In the North of France the Norman school also has a character of its own. Its style was carried to the other side of the Channel by the Norman invaders who conquered England in the Eleventh Century. These churches are lofty, harmonious and well arranged, and the lighting is such as to indicate that this feature was one of the principal preocupations of these judicious builders of northern France. To light the church properly, they were obliged to construct the nave higher than the aisles. This permitted them to open windows in the walls. At first, therefore, the nave was covered with a wooden frame supporting the roof, for the walls would never have resisted the lateral thrust of a barrelvault at that height. Later, in the period of transition from Romanesque to Gothic, when the builders had become more familiar with the possibilities of the groined vault, the construction of the nave was modified, and this method was substituted for the older wooden roof. The decoration of the Norman style is highly characteristic. The only sculptural elements are the friezes and archivolts which are covered with well studied geometrical designs and produce a rich effect at the cost of comparatively little effort. (Plate XXVIII.) We also find these decorative zones and bands in the Twelfth Century Norman Churches of England. A well known example of this is the Norman crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. The same geo-

Fig. 407. — Central column in the porch of the church at Souillac.

metrical decorative forms of the Norman school were also carried to Sicily where adventurers from Northern France had conquered the Saracens and founded a kingdom of their own. Some of the apses of the cathedrals of Sicily might well be mistaken for those of the English or French cathedrals in lands where the Norman style was generally adopted.

Many of the chateaux of France still preserve the remains of the old Romanesque fortresses beneath the newer construction dating from Gothic and Renaissance times. The feudal castles of this period usually consisted of a rectangular or circular tower called the donjon, or keep. Here the lord dwelt with his family and servants. The keep usually consisted of two or three stories, each containing a single apartment. The lower story was used as an armoury, granary and general store-room, while the main floor above was occupied by the family who lived, ate and even slept there. Above were lodged the trusted family servants. Sometimes a smaller tower containing a stairway was set against the keep, and both were separated from the remainder of the castle by an inner moat. Outside was an enclosure surrounded by an outer moat. Here the retainers lived and here were the barns and stables. In the more important castles the outer rampart, which is called a curtain-wall, was interrupted at regular intervals by battlemented towers. At Foix we find a splendid example of a castle protected by walls and towers and set upon a rocky hill overlooking the city (fig. 404). In southern France the largest of these fortified enclosures is the Cité at Carcassonne. Although some of the walls date from Visigothic times, the great gates and

A

B

NORMAN ROMANESQUE CHURCHES
A. Ste. Trinité. CAEN. — B. Bayeux Cathedral.

Fig. 408.—Doorway of the church of St. Lazare. Autun.

towers were built during the Middle Ages. Here the old subsidiary buildings are still standing, whole streets of them, forming a typical mediaeval city with its arcades and squares and even two or three churches as befitted so vast a fortress (fig. 403). When there was a permanent garrison in the castle, the soldiers had a separate church of their own, as in the fortified enclosure in the pass of La Cluse in the Pyrenees. In the smaller castles, one of the rooms served as a chapel.

According to history the most important public works of the Romanesque period were the bridges. They were always narrow and, when possible, consisted of a single arch in order to avoid building piers. This often required the construction of a bold arch which rested upon a rock on either side of the bed of the stream. This made the firmest sort of a foundation. Of course a number of spans were needed to bridge the larger rivers. The most famous of the bridges of France built at this time was the one St. Benezet constructed over the Rhone

Fig. 409. — The Virgin of the Annunciation. *(Museum of Toulouse.)*

at Avignon in imitation of an ancient Roman bridge. The bridge over the Durance at Bonpas, also in Provence, gave the place its name instead of Malpas which it had always been called. Generally speaking, few civil monuments remain in France from the Romanesque period. The great city palaces were rebuilt during the Gothic period when France may be said to have really found herself, artistically speaking. There is a town-hall still standing in the town of Saint Antonin which is cited by Viollet-le-Duc who attempted its restoration (figs. 405 and 406).

The history of almost all the Romanesque monuments in France is rather obscure, and it is difficult to determine the year, often even the century, in which they were erected. Many of the church archives of the country were destroyed during the Revolution, and we are obliged to rely largely upon the dates furnished by the old chronicles of the monks, many of which were copied and published by the scholars of the Renaissance. Prior to the year 1000, however, the monastic records consisted of little more than notes and journals of the briefest sort, and their accuracy is often open to question. Later they acquired a certain amount of historical perspective and the monks began to set down their records in literary form, although a desire to vaunt the merits and antiquity of their convent often led them to accept dates and traditions of the most doubtful character. As a consequence, the dates furnished by the literary sources relating to the monuments of the Middle Ages are constantly being corrected by the modern historian who closely examines the buildings themselves in search of errors and compares them with one another, analyzing their styles and decorative themes. As a result, we have two schools of investigators in the field of mediaeval art who are antagonistic to one another and rarely agree on anything. There are the so-called Archivists who hold to the written word, and the Stylists who, as their name indicates, depend entirely upon the style of the monuments, that is to say, upon the stones themselves. The latter are acute observers, and a minute detail which would pass unnoticed by the ordinary person becomes for them a definite criterion and a dependable source of information.

As a matter of fact, either method is faulty when used alone. To put blind faith in a literary text written in a period so devoid of any historical sense as the Middle Ages will lead to countless errors, of course. It has been proved

Fig. 410.—Capital from the cloister of St. Etienne. *(Museum of Toulouse.)*

beyond question that many of the dates of the mediaeval chronicles were either falsified or honest mistakes. But, generally speaking, to disdain the old documents as a useful source of information is to reject an arsenal of facts which history has preserved. Frequently they have been altered or enlarged upon, it is true, but in many cases the written accounts are honest and accurate.

It has often occurred that after the stylist believed he had corrected some date from a literary source, a closer examination of the monument compelled him to admit that he had made a mistake. In trying to rectify the date furnished by the document by means of a superficial study of the buildings in question, he has fallen still further from the actual truth. The truth is that both are liable to error, both the old document and the modern critic, but the probabilities are usually in favor of the former. Until the contrary has

Fig. 411.—Capital from the cloister of St. Etienne. *(Museum of Toulouse.)*

Fig. 412. — The Virgin of the Cloister. *(Rheims Cathedral.)*

been proved by conclusive evidence, it is safer to hold to the date furnished by the literary tradition.

Innumerable cases could be cited of these more or less subjective conclusions of modern critics, but it will be sufficient to relate the story which Viollet-le-Duc tells from his own experience in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française*. He was not only a great archaeologist, but a famous architect as well, and Napoleon III put him in charge of the restoration of the monuments of France. He was well acquainted with Gothic architecture, indeed he was considered to be an authority on the Gothic churches of France, and he tells us he had always doubted the date given by the literary sources for the erection of the Sens Cathedral. According to this date the composition would be so extraordinarily premature that he found it impossible to believe that a building so completely Gothic in every respect could have been constructed at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. Commissioned by the government to make some important repairs, he found upon taking down a wall in the course of the work that certain structural details definitely determined the time of its construction as the first part of the Thirteenth Century, just as the old documents had affirmed. Although the style of the building was far in advance of the art of its time, the structural methods employed in building it were notwithstanding still very primitive.

In Spain the stylists have made similar errors. Here indeed, history seems to have been abandoned in favor of caprice which swings from one opinion to another in a rather disconcerting manner. Having long ascribed too great an antiquity to many of its monuments, it now seems to be the fashion to rejuvenate them and to captiously contradict not only the records of their consecration signed by multitudes of witnesses but even the contracts made by those in charge of the work containing descriptions of the principal features of the building.

All that we have said of the church-buildings applies with much greater force to the sculptures. Naturally we have fewer documents and other literary accounts relating to the decorations than to the buildings themselves, particularly the cathedrals and abbey-churches. At the present time, however, the history of early French sculpture arouses much more interest than that of their architecture. By the second half of the Thirteenth Century sculpture in France attained a degree of perfection which permits its comparison with the Greek. The façades of the Gothic cathedrals are filled with splendid statues which have their antecedents in the Romanesque period.

To study the origin of an art and the laws governing its formation is always interesting as a psychological phenomenon, but when a school of art attains the height of perfection as in classical Greece or mediaeval France, our interest in the manner in which it achieved such extreme beauty becomes no longer a matter of purely scientific curiosity, but rather a deep felt desire of the heart. We experience the emotion with which a lover longs to know of the childhood of his beloved whom he has known as a beautiful maiden, already a paragon of grace.

Unfortunately we must admit that we know little of the beginnings of French sculpture, perhaps even less than we have learned of the origin of the Greek. Mediaeval archaeology is in many respects far behind that of the classical period, and little or nothing has been done in the way of assembling the various types, arranging them methodically and classifying them into schools, as has been done with Greek sculpture.

It was long believed that Provence was the one place where classical traditions had been preserved, and its school of sculpture was considered to be the oldest.

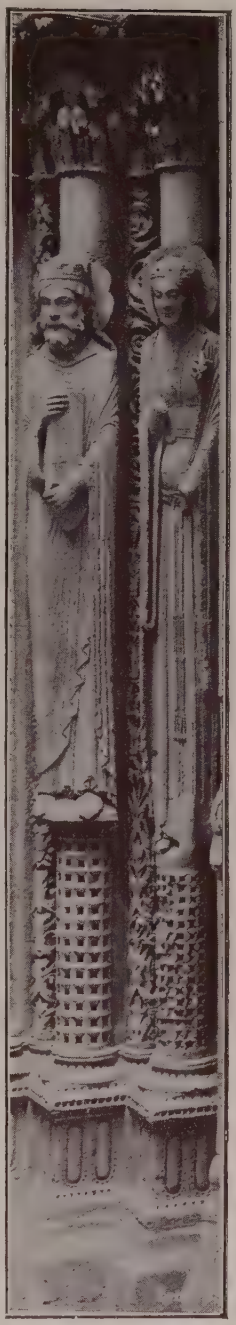

Fig. 413. — Sculptures in the portal of Chartres Cathedral.

Fig. 414. — Sculptures in the portal of Chartres Cathedral.

We have already seen how this theory has been modified, and today a much later date is accepted for St. Trophîme and St. Gilles at Arles. Where, then, are we to look for the beginnings of the great statuary art of mediaeval France? The answer still remains an enigma.

In any case, the early Twelfth Century saw the appearance of three important Romanesque sculptural compositions in France, and these alone are worthy of the highest praise, although we are ignorant of their antecedents and know nothing of how they came to be created.

They are the doorway with its relief sculptures at Moissac, the one at Vézelay and the carved door of St. Lazare at Autun. The abbey of Moissac was a most important one at this time, indeed it might be said to be the most prominent in Languedoc, and it maintained close relations with the principal monasteries of France and Spain. It was natural that this wealthy religious community should be the centre of art and culture, so we are hardly surprised to find its church embellished with a great doorway containing handsome relief carvings. In the tympanum is represented the vision ot St. John in the Apocalypse. The Lord is seated upon a throne in the midst of four beasts and twenty-four elders with crowns and harps. (Plate XXIX, A.) The work is a mar-

A. — Relief in the tympanum of the church at Moissac.

B. — Relief in the tympanum of the church at Vézelay.

Figs. 415 and 416. — The Annunciation. The so-called group of the twins. *(Chartres Cathedral.)*

velous one, both for its action, and for the imagination displayed. The most famous of our modern artists could hardly paint a picture which would better express the intense feeling with which this composition is executed. The great figures of the angels and the twisted forms of the elders might well be the work of one of the ultrarefined and decadent artists of our own time.

An interesting example of the sculpture of this period is the central column of the doorway of the church at Souillac. It is of a type which may be justly defined as belonging to the Moissac school and shows us how well movement could be expressed by these sculptors (fig. 407). But even the doorway at Moissac was to be surpassed by new prodigies of sculpture in the monastic centres of Romanesque France. Vézelay was a Burgundian abbey subordinate to that of Cluny where, according to tradition, the relics of St. Magdalene were preserved. This attracted countless pilgrims, and their offerings defrayed the cost of the great church which is still standing. Upon the tympanum above the main doorway we see the descent of the Holy Spirit which showers its rays upon the statues of the apostles, some of them, alas, now headless. In the centre is the Lord surrounded by an almond-shaped nimbus. (Plate XXIX, B.)

Just as Vézelay was supposed to guard the relics of St. Magdalene, so Autun claimed to be the resting place of the body of Lazarus. Consequently we find upon the tympanum of the church a representation of the resurrection of the

Fig. 417. — Ornamental reliefs on the doorway of the church of St. Latre. AVALLON. *Yonne.*

dead and the Last Judgment. The figure of the Lord is rather flatly carved in the centre, while long thin angels and rigid devils contend for the souls of men. The last are represented by small human figures that twist convulsively (fig. 408). On the pillar in the centre of the doorway St. Lazare is represented as the first bishop of Autun, flanked on either side by the figures of his two sisters, Mary and Martha. The marvellous skill with which these figures are carved from the block of stone proves that the inaccuracy of the drawing in the relief was not due to inexperience, but rather the intended exaggeration of a sculptor who saw the world in troubled and romantic guise to an even greater degree than did his fellow-artists at Moissac and Vézelay.

We find the same intensity of expression in almost all the sculptures of this period. The famous Virgin of the Annunciation in the museum at Toulouse (figure 409) and the capitals from the cloister of St. Etienne indicate plainly that even in works of minor importance Languedoc felt the same desire of repression.

In the North, meanwhile, architecture continued to progress. The monks began to direct the construction of great cathedrals and to decorate them as well. The sculpture of the first great churches of the free cities was still Romanesque, as we see from certain portions of the façades at Rheims, Paris and

Fig. 418. — Painted decorations of the church of Ste. Radegonde. Poitiers.

Chartres. Take, for example, the marvelous Virgin in the door of the cloister of the cathedral at Rheims with her arched brows and fine mouth and adored by soft-faced angels. She is the model, indeed, the mother of the many Virgins gracing the doorways of the cathedrals of France (fig. 412).

The figures of one of the older doorways of the Chartres Cathedral are also characteristic. Their elegant rigidity is well suited to their use as caryatids attached to the columns (figs. 413 and 414). The kings and beautiful queens with their robes hanging in straight folds seem to concentrate their entire life in their extatic countenances which shine with spirituality. Similar statues of the royal abbey of St. Denis are of still more exaggerated proportions. Among them are young queens with long slender figures whose tresses fall almost to their feet following the straight lines of their garments. They are so noble, so spiritual, that they seem the very essence of purity.

The work of some of these sculptors is characterized by its realism as in the case of the group of the Annunciation and that of the twins. The latter may be two Crusaders defended by a single shield (figs. 415 and 416).

The sculptures of a purely decorative character are also extremely beautiful. Here we find vine-tendrils, acanthus-leaves and Grecian frets, particularly on the doorways of the monasteries subordinate to Cluny, where the ornamental patterns stand out sharply against the dark shadows of the deeply chiseled hollows behind them (fig. 417). In the work of the Romanesque period we sometimes detect an Oriental influence, not only of Syria and Byzantium, but even of the Far East, as in some of the reliefs of Bayeux Cathedral which appear

Fig. 419. — Porphyry vase from St. Denis. *(Louvre.)*

to have been inspired by fabrics from India (fig. 424).

In addition to architecture and sculpture, schools of decorative painting also began in France during the Romanesque period. These never ceased to develope until they finally produced the great art of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. The most finished example of French Romanesque painting is that found in the church of St. Savin near Vienne in Dauphiné. The frescoes of St. Savin already possess an elegance that is typically French. One of them represents the Omnipotent creating the sun and moon. Here we find a delicacy, both of outline and movement, which has caused Mérimée to compare it with the figures of the Greek vases. The coloring is also exquisite, consisting of reddish grays and grayish yellows, with hardly any green and no dark colors at all. In the apse is the seated figure of the Creator giving his blessing, a picture of power and beauty. The painters of St. Savin appear to have formed a school, or rather one element of a school, the influence of which extended over a fairly wide area. We find similar frescoes in the ancient church of Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers (fig. 418).

It has been said that the pictorial art most characteristically French was that upon the glass of their church windows, and, indeed, later on, in the Gothic period, we find the painters of France entering with enthusiasm into this field of decorative art. It is probable that already in Carolingian times a translucent mosaic was made of bits of glass of various colors. In a description of the cathedral at Rheims erected by Hincmar in the Ninth Century we read, "fenestris etiam illustravit vitreis." It is not known just when lead began to be

used to join the different colored pieces of glass; some of the earlier examples of stained glass windows are set in wooden frames. We know that wood was still used for this purpose in the Tenth Century, for stained glass of this type was discovered in a window in the church of Chateau-Landon which had been walled up; and neither the church nor the window are later than the Tenth Century. A document from Fleury which dates from about the same time tells us that when a portion of the church caught on fire, the monks feared that the heat might melt the lead in the windows. In the Middle Ages the colored windows were not made by painting the decorations and figures on the glass panes, but the design was sketched upon a paper and the glass was cut into pieces corresponding to the different colors employed and these were joined together by means of lead. The latter, being opaque, outlined the picture. Although this made it necessary to cut a fragment of glass for each shade, the method had the advantage of not requiring the use of the mineral colors which we use today and which would render the glass opaque. The most ancient preserved in France are the windows of St. Denis, which are of the Eleventh Century. Next, in point of time, come those of Chartres, Angers, Poitiers etc. The brilliant colors of these windows add a richness to the interior and give a spiritual effect which the architecture alone would hardly produce.

Fig. 420. — *Champlevé* enamel from Limoges. *(Cluny Museum.)*

Fig. 421. — Enameled casket. *Sens Cathedral.*

Among the minors arts of the Romanesque period in France, metal-work and enamels easily occupy the most important place. First of all we should cite the treasure of St. Denis which the old documents describe in connection with the activity displayed by Suger at the beginning of the Twelfth Century. A handsome antique porphyry vase was converted by a Romanesque goldsmith into the body of an eagle which plainly shows the skill of the jewelers employed by this abbot (fig. 419). Another beautiful piece belonging to the same period has disappeared, but it can be restored from the minute description that has come down to us. This was the repoussé pedestal composed of various metals which Suger had made to support a Merovingian cross ascribed to St. Eloi, one of the most precious posssessions of the monastery. As an interesting example of the efforts this prelate made to decorate the abbey-church, we should mention the cast bronze doors which he commissioned the artists of the country to make, although no precedent for this work existed in France.

Very characteristic of the metal-work of the French Romanesque school are the enamels from the district about Limoges, where there was an extensive commerce in these articles. All the more valuable ritual objects of this period were enameled. The artisans of Limoges abandoned the difficult and costly technique of the Byzantine cloisonné enamels in which the vitrified colors were set in compartments of flat gold wire. Instead, they applied a thin coating of enamel to a bronze surface. The latter, somewhat repoussé, was covered with a thick layer of enamel-paste which was not liquid enough to run and spoil the design when it was fused in the furnace (fig. 420). This kind of enamel is called champlevé, because it is not enclosed by strips of flat wire, or cloisons, like the Byzantine cloisonné. After they were enameled, the bronze plates or sheets were skilfully joined by the artisans of Limoges who knew how to braze the metal without marring the enamel decoration and who made of them caskets, reliquaries, pyxes etc. In the case of the larger pieces of goldsmith's work like frontals and portable altars, the enamel was applied to smaller plates which were

Fig. 422. — Reliquary casket of the church of Ambazac.

Tapestry embroidered by Queen Matilda. Bayeux.

1. Edward the Confessor, last Saxon king of England, sends Harold, the pretender to the throne, to Duke William of Normandy to announce the appointment of the latter as his successor. — 2. Harold swears to recognize Duke William as King of England. — 3. Upon Edward's death, William prepares to conquer England and subdue the rebellion of Harold and the Saxons.

Tapestry embroidered by Queen Matilda, Bayeux.

4. William's fleet bearing horses, arms and war-supplies sails from Normandy for England. — 5. The Saxons, headed by Harold, are defeated by the Normans at the Battle of Hastings. — 6. Harold and his followers fall in battle; some are slain on the beach while fleeing from the victorious Normans.

Fig. 423. — Bishop from an ivory chess-set. *(Morgan Collection.)*

fastened to the repoussé background of the copper or silver altar. The chests shaped like churches are sometimes of unusual dimensions. We find many of them in the churches of Auvergne, where they serve as reliquaries for the bones of the saints (figs. 421 and 422).

The art of carving in ivory also was practised during the Romanesque period. Many carved ivory combs and caskets in France have come down to us from this time. Of French origin, also, are many of the hunter's horns carved from elephant-tusks and beautifully sculptured in relief, and the same is true of the ivory chess-men, for the game was very popular in Europe at this time (fig. 423).

The more costly garments of the period were made of Oriental fabrics as were the wrappings of the holy relics in the cathedral treasuries. But we now begin to find a Western European style in the embroideries of the time which could be done in wool and did not need the complicated apparatus of the Persian and Byzantine looms. Perhaps the best known example of this work is the famous tapestry which is found in the cathedral of Bayeux in Normandy. It is supposed to have been embroidered by the Queen Matilda and her ladies during the time that Duke William of Normandy was engaged in the conquest of England. The tapestry is about twenty inches wide and two hundred and fourteen feet long and forms a pictorial history of the Norman conquest of England. Here we find portrayed the preparations for the expedition, the incidents of the crossing and finally the Battle of Hastings which determined the destiny of England. (Plate XXX.)

Summary.— We apply the name, Romanesque, to the art, derived from the old Latin traditions which arose subsequent to the Carolingian period. This new period began in the year 1000 and lasted until toward the middle of the Thirteenth Century, when the Gothic art of France triumphed and spread over all Western Europe. Romanesque art varies not only in the different countries, but also in the various parts of the same country in many cases. In France we find the schools of Provence, Aquitaine, Auvergne, Burgundy, Royal France and Normandy. It is as difficult to determine the frontiers and special characteristics of the different schools as it frequently is to fix the date of the individual building. Some investigators depend entirely upon the written documents of this obscure period, while others draw their conclusions largely from the style of the monument. The wisest course is the judicious use of the written historical sources, confirmed whenever possible by a critical examination of the actual material. It was during this period that the sculptors of France began to produce works of artistic merit out of which grew the important statuary art of the Gothic churches. The most important examples of French Romanesque sculpture are the façades of the Provençal churches at Arles, the reliefs in the doorways at Moissac, Vézelay and Autun, and the earlier statues of Chartres and St. Denis. Among the minor arts of France at this time, the most important and typical was that of enameling. The enamels of Limoges are especially famous. Also worthy of mention is the tapestry of Queen Matilda in the cathedral at Bayeux. This is of the greatest historical value, as it represents the conquest of England by the Normans.

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Fig. 424. — Relief of the monkey and the puppet-player. *(Bayeux Cathedral.)*

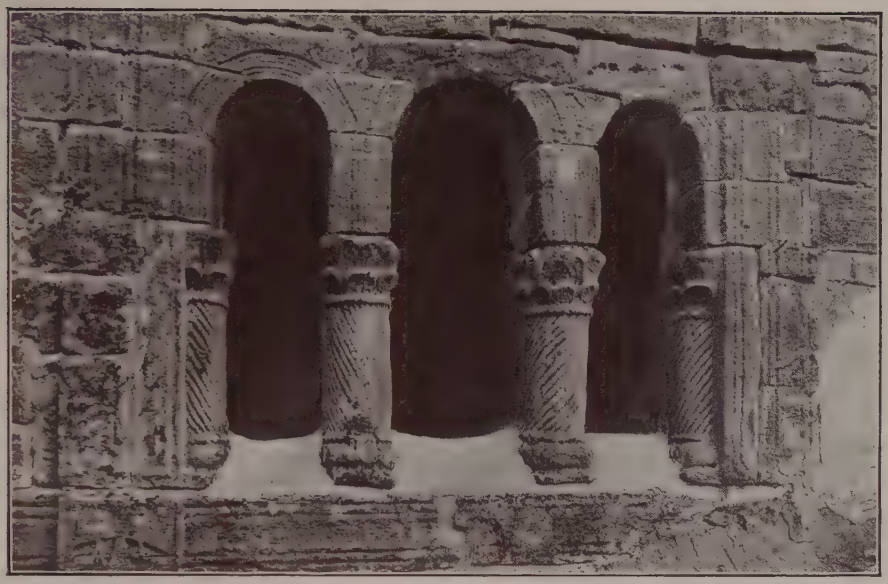


Fig. 425. — Window in the façade of the church of Santa Maria de Naranco. Oviedo.

CHAPTER XII

ROMANESQUE ART IN SPAIN.— THE ASTURIAN SCHOOLS OF VISIGOTHIC TRADITIONS.
THE MOZARABIC CHURCHES OF CASTILE AND LEON.
ROMANESQUE CATHEDRALS: SANTIAGO, TORO, ZAMORA AND SALAMANCA.
THE CATALAN SCHOOLS. — ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN SPAIN.

It was only in the northern portion of Spain that the Romanesque schools developed, for in the south the Moslems were not expelled until after the Thirteenth Century. Beginning with the time of Pelayo's successors, there was a local school in the extreme northwest corner of the peninsula which carried on the Visigothic traditions. This was the little Kingdom of Asturias. In Oviedo, its capital, are scanty remains of the structures built by these early kings who were more than the founders of a new state; indeed, they seem to have been the guardians of the old civilization and the Visigothic culture which found a refuge in the mountains of Asturias. Thus the Asturians came to build more solidly and extensively than was usual in the Occident in that period. Toward the end of the Eighth Century, Alfonso the Chaste constructed the cathedral and a number of other stone buildings at Oviedo, among them the episcopal palace. Of these only the crypt of the cathedral is left; its old vault still stands and it is called the Cámara Santa. The best preserved examples of this Asturian neo-Visigothic art are found outside the city. Upon the mountains overlooking the capital are the venerable churches of Santa Maria de Naranco and San

Fig. 426. — Interior of Santa Maria de Naranco. Oviedo.

Miguel de Liño which are certainly of Ninth Century construction. The former was once attached to the royal palace of Ramiro I just outside of Oviedo and is a fine building for the time when it was constructed. A two-storied vaulted structure, it is built entirely of stone, and no timbers were employed to support the roof (figs. 425, 426 and 427). It should be recalled that vaulted buildings were extremely rare in Western Europe in the Ninth Century, when these churches were erected, and for this reason it has been suspected that they may be the work of Syrian monks from the Orient. Then, too, Santa Maria de Naranco has a lofty exterior portico on its façade like those of the Oriental churches. But even though any such Syrian connection could be established, it would probably go back to Visigothic times, when Spain was more easily accessible to merchants and monks from the Levant than during the early years of the Reconquest.

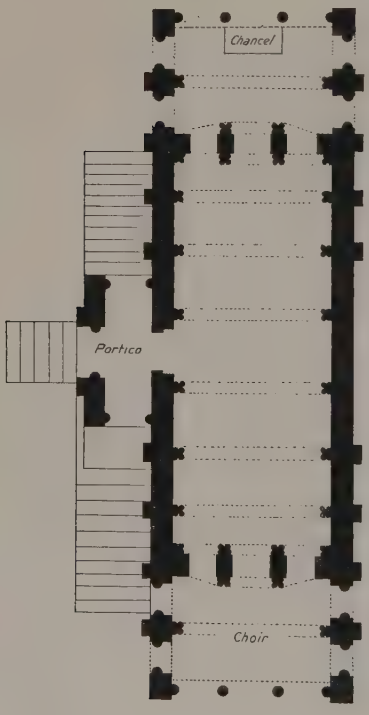


Fig. 427. — Plan of Santa Maria de Naranco. Oviedo.

The arrangement and decoration of these Asturian churches are interesting examples of the persistence of the old Visigothic traditions. In both the plan is rectangular, the subordinate buildings are separate and the apse is square, as we have seen to be the case in San Juan de Baños. The exterior walls are plain, relieved only by rudimentary buttresses which resist to some extent the lateral thrust of the vault. The principal decoration consists of the windows which are usually divided by small columns and often covered with exquisite stone openwork composed of graceful interlaced designs. Inside,

the arches and vaults are not in the form of a horseshoe but round. It is true, however, that the roof was reconstructed during the Twelfth Century. At intervals there are reenforcing arches which rest upon semidetached columns ornamented with spiral decorations. Sometimes the springers of these arches are marked only by medallions which resemble the pendants of the Visigothic gold ornaments (fig. 428). The door-jambs of San Miguel de Liño are ornamented with reliefs depicting the games of the circus, doubtless copied from some Byzantine ivory diptych (fig. 433); but the decorations of all the other architectural features, such as those of the friezes and capitals, are the geometrical designs of which the Germanic peoples were so fond. They are like the repoussé bands of the crowns of Guarrazar and other barbarian goldsmith's work.

Fig. 428. — Detail of Santa Maria de Naranco.

Santa Maria de Naranco and San Miguel de Liño seem to have been built by Ramiro I in 848; at least the stone commemorating the consecration of Santa Maria bears this date, and San Miguel is mentioned by the oldest Asturian chronicles (fig. 429).

The latter church has evidently suffered a good deal in the course of centuries. When Ambrosio de Morales visited it in the Sixteenth Century, the tower was still standing. Of the nave and aisles, only the ancient vestibule still remains. The interior of Santa Maria de Naranco, on the other hand, has been preserved almost intact.

Another important monument of the Asturian neo-Visigothic school is the church of the Benedictine monastery of Val-de-Dios which was founded by Alfonso the Great in 893. This church with its nave and two aisles follows the Asturian style. The apses are rectangular as in San Juan de Baños. There is a lateral door in the vestibule which embellishes the façade, and the windows are covered with stone openwork resembling the chains of the crowns of Guarrazar.

This Asturian style, although it did not spread to any great extent, lasted until the beginning of the Romanesque period. Of the same type as the churches of the capital is the *ermita* of Santa Cristina de Lena which evidently dates from the Tenth Century (fig. 430). At least the choir-screen, which is decorated with geometrical Visigothic reliefs, bears an inscription mentioning an abbot named Flainus who lived at this time (fig. 431). Another church in this type is that of Santullano near Oviedo; it, too, has windows ornamented with openwork of Visigothic design (fig. 432).

Fig. 429. — San Miguel de Liño. Asturias.

On the plateau of Castile, in the meantime, another style was in the process of formation, but its interesting monuments have never been properly studied. Until recent years, they were not even recognized. These are the Mozarabic churches which also preserved the Visigothic traditions. By the Mozarabs is meant the Christian population which remained under Moslem rule but preserved their language, traditions and religion. Their churches were in the form of a basilica and constructed with horseshoe-arches. The form of these arches gives them a certain Arabic appearance, and, indeed, they were first built either in Mohammedan lands or those strongly influenced by the Moslem invaders. For a time the latter did not take the churches away from the Christians except occasionally to provide themselves with the necessary places of worship. Later, however, the Christian monks were expelled from Cordova by Abd-er-Rahman and scattered to every part of the peninsula, where they constructed churches of this new type. They are all lofty white structures, often containing two rows of columns supporting horseshoe arches upon which the wooden roofs of the nave and aisles rest. When the church is vaulted, it is smaller and contains only a nave. They possess little sculptural decoration except for the capitals of the columns which are of the degenerate Corinthian type employed during the Visigothic period. Although the builders of these monuments were in close contact with the Arabs, their architectural elements are derived rather from the preceding period. Besides the horseshoe-arch, the churches of Castile and Leon, like those of Asturias, contain other mementos of the glories of the Visigothic kingdom. Every year more monuments of this type are becoming known owing to the interest awakened

Fig. 430. — Santa Cristina de Lena. Asturias.

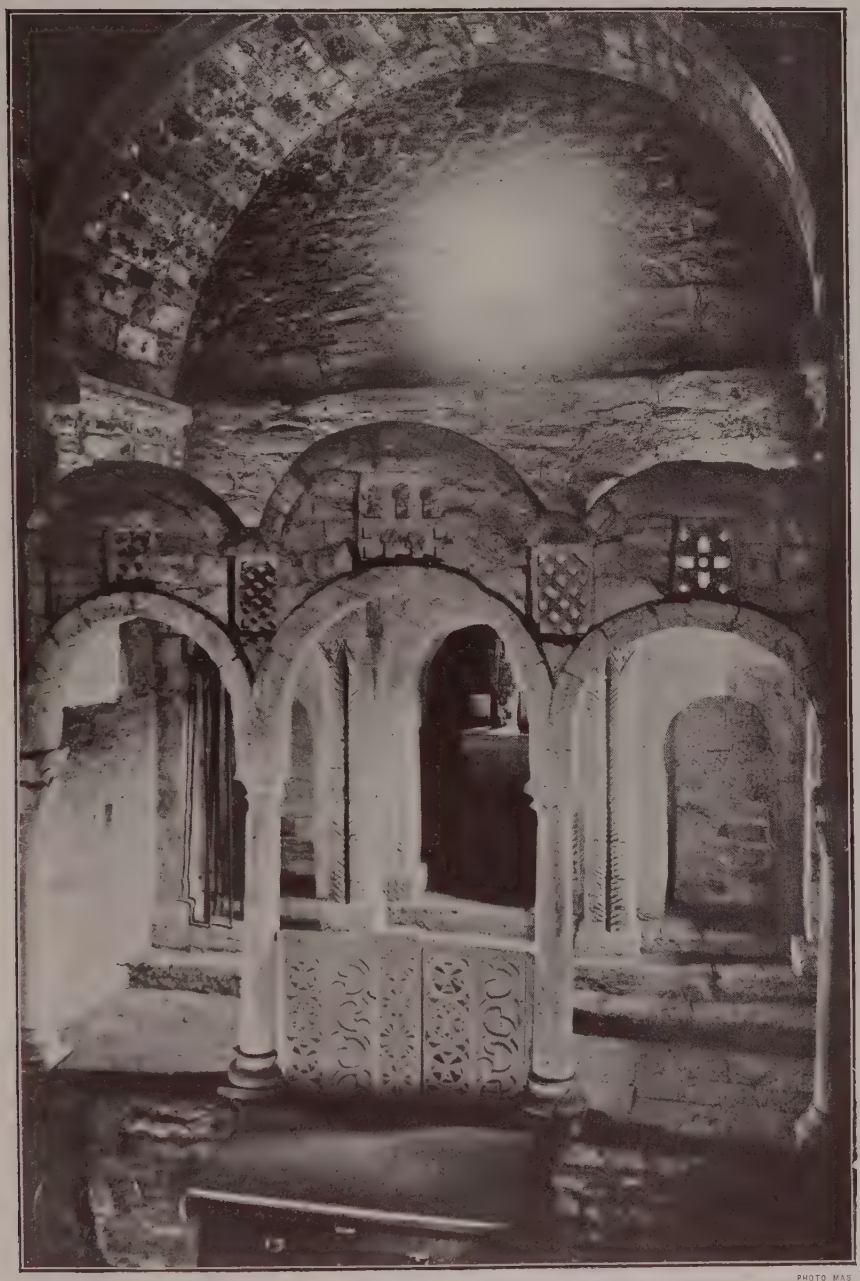


Fig. 431. — Interior of Santa Cristina de Lena. Asturias.

Fig. 432. — Apse of the church of Santullano. Asturias.

among Castilian scholars who begin to realize the opportunities for archaeological exploration that exist in central Spain. The best known churches, however, are still those of San Cebrian de Mazote, San Roman de Hornija, Sta. Maria de Bamba, San Millan de la Cogolla, El Frómista, etc. The recent studies of M. Gómez Moreno have cast much light upon these churches, and today more than twenty-five of them have been documented and can be dated between the years 850 and 984. Similarity of style proves others to be of the same period. One of them, San Miguel de Escalada in the province of Leon, is mentioned in many documents. We learn that a sanctuary had already existed on the site in Visigothic times, but it was destroyed by the Arabs and was not restored or rebuilt until 913, when the work of reconstruction was undertaken by Mozarabic monks who had been driven out of Cordova. We find the horseshoe form both in the plan and in the arches, but the entire structure reminds us more of the Visigothic buildings than the Moslem monuments with which the Andalusian monks of Cordova were, of course, familiar (figs. 434 and 435).

Fig. 433. — Relief of the games of the circus. *San Miguel de Liño.*

This church is one of the best examples of the Mozarabic style. In it is a screen separating the part containing the altar from the remainder of the church, like the iconostasis of the Greek Church. We also see the screen in Santa Cristina de Lena which was built in the pure neo-Visigothic style. The decorations are in the old national style as well (fig. 436). It is believed by some that the church of San Baudel at Berlanga is also a Mozarabic church, while others consider it to be proto-Mudejar like Santa Maria de Melque in the province of

Figs. 434 and 435. — Lateral apse and interior of the church of San Miguel de Escalada. LEON.

Toledo. In any case we see in these early structures, the arrangement of which recalls that of the smaller Visigothic churches, the gradual development of the art of Christian Spain. It was but little contaminated by Moslem influences, and in the lands reconquered by the Christians it determined the character of the renaissance of the genuine national style. It is only at a later stage of the Reconquest that we find the Moslems who remained under Christian domination making use of their own technique to produce the hybrid style called Mudejar in the structures which they built for their new rulers. This is a peculiar type of construction which resulted from the collaboration of mediaeval master-builders with the Arab workmen and artists who did not leave the country reconquered by the Christians. The Mudejar style should not be mistaken for the Mozarabic, which was the work of the Mozarabs, or Christian subjects of Moslem rulers.

PHOTOS ASENJO

Fig. 436. — Sculptured breastwork of San Miguel de Escalada. LEON.

During three centuries many monuments well worthy of study were constructed in the Mudejar style in the prov-

Fig. 437.—Interior of the church of Santa Maria la Blanca. Toledo.

ince of Toledo, and the square and octagonal towers of Aragon and Old Castile with their raised brick designs are always models of ingenuity and good taste.

The Jews erected a number of synagogues worthy of mention which, as time went on, were adapted to Christian worship, particularly Santa Maria la Blanca (figure 437) and San Benito at Toledo. The latter is better known as El Tránsito de Nuestra Señora. Owing to their wealth the Jews enjoyed the favor of the courts of Castile and Aragon, and a number of them filled the high positions of treasurer and royal physician, so the magnificence of some of these synagogues is not to be wondered at. Although influenced by the art of the Saracens, their style is not entirely Moslem.

The Romanesque buildings which we have studied so far are purely Spanish, and it may be said that except for slight Moslem and Byzantine influences they carried on the national traditions and received nothing from foreign lands. In the northwestern corner of the peninsula, however, in Galicia, was the tomb of Santiago, the Apostle James, which attracted pilgrims from every part of Europe. Here a new school grew up which was strongly influenced by the style and technique of Southern France.

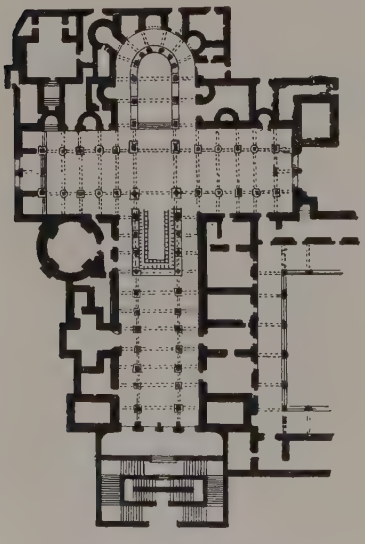


Fig. 438. — Plan of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

The great Galician cathedral of Santiago is the most important Spanish monument dating from this period, and it is very evident that it is to some extent the work of Provençal masters. Even before the Crusade of Simon de Montfort, many Provençal artists left their homes and took refuge in Italy and Spain. As noted in the preceding chapter, the Provençals taught the rules of versification and brought new artistic tastes into the court of the Count of Barcelona.

In Galicia this influence is even more evident. The Galician poetry of this period, which was the only Spanish poetry in the vernacular, is filled with meters, images and poetical forms borrowed from the verses of the Troubadours. The same occurred in architecture and sculpture. The great sanctuary dedicated to the Apostle, which was visited by pilgrims from every part of Christendom, was built on a plan similar in size and arrangement to the famous church of St. Saturnin at Toulouse. In both these churches we find the complicated apse-aisle and chapels and the two-storied aisles forming galleries opening on the nave (fig. 438). The original vaults were cylindrical; those over the galleries were half-barrel vaults. Later, however, they were more solidly reconstructed with reenforcing arches and ribs.

Fig. 439.—Detail of the Puerta de las Platerías.

The most ancient sculptural decoration of the cathedral of Santiago is that of the lateral doorway called the Puerta de las Platerías which was executed between 1137 and 1143. A document written between these two dates describes the arrangement of the façade and it was then the same as it is today. This portal was composed of reliefs taken from an older façade belonging to the Eleventh Century and arranged with little order. The style of these reliefs recalls the so-called reliefs of St. Saturnin or those of La Daurade, now in the Toulouse Museum (figs. 439 and 440).

Later the main façade of the great cathedral of Santiago was decorated with what is perhaps the most important mediaeval Spanish work in existence. This is the magnificent portico containing three doorways lined with sculptures and known as the Pórtico de la Gloria. An inscription carved in the lintel gives the date of this astounding monument and the name of the illustrious master who directed the work: *Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXXVIII,*

Fig. 440.—Puerta de las Platerías. *(Cathedral of Santiago.)*

Figs. 441 and 442. — Pórtico de la Gloria. Side view and detail. *(Cathedral of Santiago.)*

Era MCCXXVI, in die Kalendis Aprilis, super liniharia principalium portalium ecclesiae beati Jacobi, sunt collocata per magistrum Matheum, qui a fundamentis ipsorum portalium erexit magisterium. That is, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1188, which was the year 1226 of the Spanish Era, on the first day of April, the lintels of the door of the church of Santiago were laid by Master Mateo who had directed the work from its foundations. There is a document in the archives of Santiago dated 1168 which records the fact that Master Mateo was already directing the work, no doubt the lower portion of the portico, for it is set above a crypt on account of the inequality of the ground. The scaffolding of this magnificent façade was certainly not taken away until 1211 when the church was consecrated, but during the last quarter of the Twelfth Century the master was completing the sculptures of the doorways and vault. The work is all executed in the same style and represents the greatest effort made in Europe at this time to master the technical difficulties involved. It has been stated with much show of probability that if Master Mateo had found pupils to go on with the work of his school, the artistic renaissance of Europe would have commenced, not in Italy, but in that distant corner of the

Fig. 443.—Architectural detail.
(Morgan Collection.)

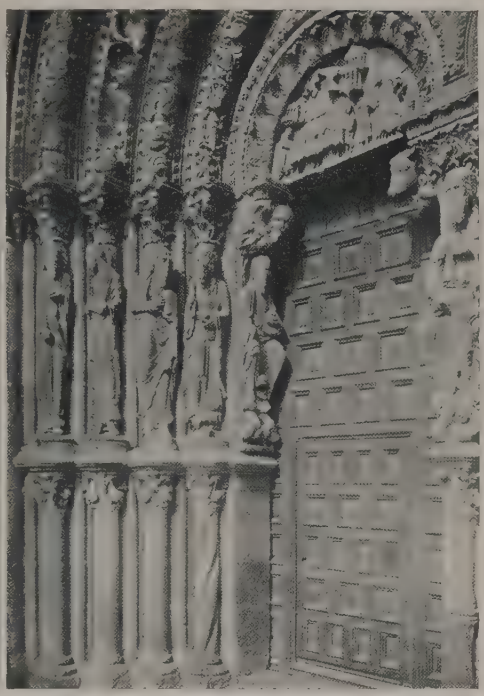


Fig. 444.—Doorway of the church of San Vicente, Avila.

Iberian peninsula (figs. 441 and 442). The exterior of the portico was also covered with sculptures, but unfortunately they were destroyed when the Baroque façade was constructed which today mars the entire church. Within the portico are three doorways whose beveled sides are lined with columns resting on the backs of prostrate monsters. These columns are surmounted at a certain height by figures of apostles and prophets. A slender marble pillar attached to the pier dividing the largest doorway supports the statue of the Apostle James. Opposite these figures and corresponding to the exterior columns of the portico are statues representing Judith and the prophetesses. Above the band of figures rise the arches of the doorways and in the centre of the tympanum of the middle doorway stands out a great figure of Christ, King and Judge, more than fifteen feet in height. Beside him are seated the Evangelists who are identified by the usual symbols and a number of angels who bear the attributes of the Passion of our Lord. In the great archivolt are the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse as in the doorways at Moissac and as we see them in the Spanish paintings of the period. Except for the marble columns and figures, the entire composition is carved from granite which contributes not a little to the magnificence of this elaborate work.

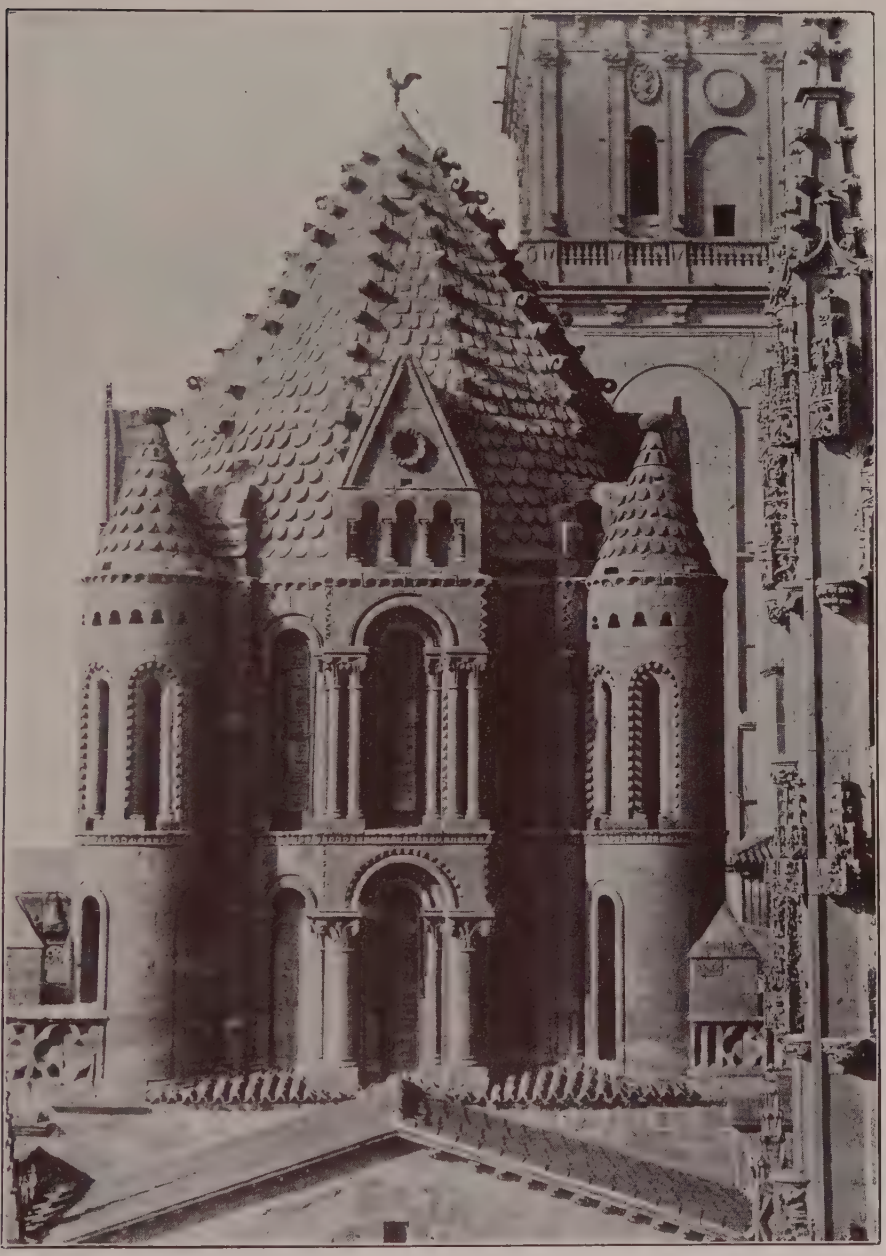
Besides the portico of Compostela, only a number of the sculptures of the Cámara Santa at Oviedo can be said to belong to the school of Master Mateo or could have been carved by any of his pupils. For this reason the question of

Fig. 445. — Dome of the cathedral of Zamora.

the antecedents of the great artist who executed the portico of Santiago remains one of the most fascinating problems of Spanish archaeology. Was he a Provençal sculptor who came to Santiago or a native artist of the school founded years before by exiles from the South of France? At the time when this monument was carved, Santiago de Compostela was a city with much artistic enthusiasm and was in touch with the most advanced intellectual centres of Western Europe. This is plainly seen from its music and literature. One author has noted that the garments of the apostles and prophets of the Pórtico de la Gloria are the same as those worn in the mysteries represented in the Spanish churches at that time, and that the musical instruments of the elders of the Apocalypse are those used by the Galician nobles and Troubadours of the Twelfth Century who delighted in musical contest. We do know, however, that no one carried on the work begun by Master Mateo. One of his pupils imitated his style in the porch of the cathedral of Orense, but the copy is sadly inferior to the model. Architecturally, the cathedral of Santiago originated a school to which belong those of Lugo and Túy with their high galleries over the aisles and the apse-aisle at Lugo. But we do not find in either of them the monumental magnificence or the decorative beauty of the Pórtico de la Gloria of Santiago de Compostela.

Fig. 446. — Ordoño II presenting his palace to the Virgin. *(Leon Cathedral.)*

Further south we find three great Castilian churches, all characterized by a new architectural feature. This is the cupola over the crossing which is visible from the outside. These three cathedrals are those of Salamanca, Toro and Zamora. In all we find a central dome arranged with smaller towers at the corners in a characteristic fashion. Usually the Spanish Romanesque cathedrals have a stone cupola rising above the intersection of the vault of the nave with those of the transepts. This was the



The Torre del Gallo. Dome of the old cathedral of Salamanca.

Fig. 447.—Cloister of the monastery of Silos.

traditional Lombard construction and we find domes of this sort in many monastic churches both in Castile and Catalonia. But these hemispherical vaults appear from the outside as low octagonal towers with a sloping roof of eight converging planes and covered with tiles. The novelty of these three cathedrals consists in the hemispherical appearance of the exterior of their domes which are connected with the remainder of the structure by means of smaller towers which resist the lateral thrust and are at the same time a continuation of the low walls of the church (fig. 445).

These Castilian domes have other interesting features as well. They are ornamented with converging stone ridges and small curls or hooks of the same material which give a certain movement to their hemispherical form. The towers at the corners contain stairways lighted with windows and end in graceful little cupolas which are also of stone. The dome of the old cathedral of Salamanca is one of the finest examples of Spanish art. It is tall, rising above two lines of windows, and the same is true of the towers at the corners. The result is that from the outside it seems higher than from within, owing to the fact that it is double. There is an inner lower shell and an outer higher one that towers up like a great stone mitre.

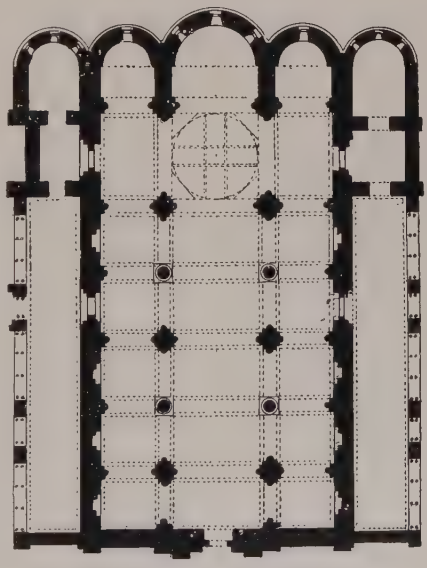


Fig. 448.—Plan of the church of San Millan. Segovia.

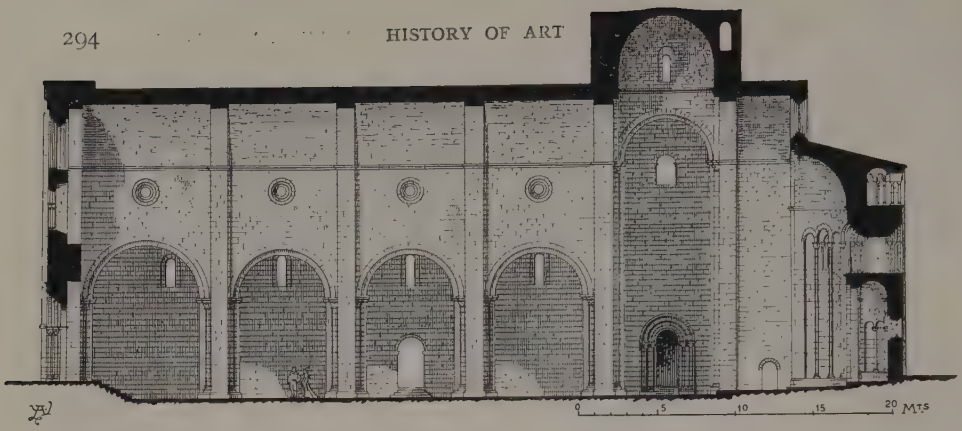


Fig. 449.—Cathedral of the Seo de Urgel. Longitudinal section showing it in its original state.

We have now described in a broad way the Romanesque monuments of Western Spain whose features permit our grouping them in schools. Nothing more is possible in a work of this general character. We have noted the Visigothic, Mozarabic and Asturian traditions, the Galician churches and the Castilian cathedrals with their very original cupolas. But there are also many other structures in central Spain which it is difficult to classify in schools, such as the Segovian churches of San Martin and San Millan (fig. 448), and San Pedro and San Vicente at Avila, particularly the last with its handsomely sculptured doorway (fig. 444). In the Basque country we find a number of monuments of this period that are worthy of note; we might mention the church of the Templars at Eunate, built in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, San Pedro at Estella, the basilica of Estibaliz near Vitoria and the cloister of Pamplona Cathedral.

In Aragon, besides the Cistercian monasteries like that of Veruela which will be treated in another chapter, there are the church and cloister of San Pedro el Viejo at Huesca and the monastery of San Juan de la Peña near Jaca. The latter was much restored in later times, but it still preserves its splendid Romanesque cloister.

Fig. 450.—Apse of the cathedral of the Seo de Urgel.

At this point we will return to the beginning of our period and take up the eastern district of the County of Barcelona which was then an independent state, although it was subject from time to time to French influences. Following the establishment of the Catalan state, monasteries began to appear on the spurs of the Pyrenees. The first works of these Catalan Romanesque

Fig. 451. — Monastery of Cuxá. Roussillon.

builders were rude stone structures with little sculptural decoration and very simple, as though in imitation of the ancient *opus reticulatum* of the Romans. The church of San Pedro at Tarrasa and the crypt of the castle of Solsona are all examples of this type. But about the year 1000 a group of Lombard masters arrived in Catalonia who taught the local masons to build with squared blocks of stone and to embellish the structures they erected with decorative bands of stone forming friezes of pilasters and blind arches along the tops of the walls.

The most important Catalan work of this type is the great cathedral of the Seo de Urgel, built by St. Armengol during the first half of the Eleventh Century (fig. 449). This church has a nave and two aisles, but it must have had two octagonal belfries above the façade and perhaps also a dome above the crossing crowned by an octagonal ciborium. Its seven apses were built in memory of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit as at Cuxá and Ripoll. Five are at the end of the church and two in front of the crossing beneath the towers. A lofty gallery served as the deambulatory with windows opening on both the outside and the inside (fig. 450). Unfortunately this magnificent church, which has been preserved intact, has been altered by a gypsum facing into a neoclassical structure. Its Romanesque stone pillars now serve as the cores of vulgar stucco Corinthian columns, but it is interesting to see how gracefully the old barrel-vault lends itself to the present Renaissance building. A restoration is now planned which will give the interior its original appearance. The entire cathedral is built of granite quarried in the Pyrenées near by, and owing to the hardness of the material the reliefs of the doorway are somewhat rude and scanty. The same is

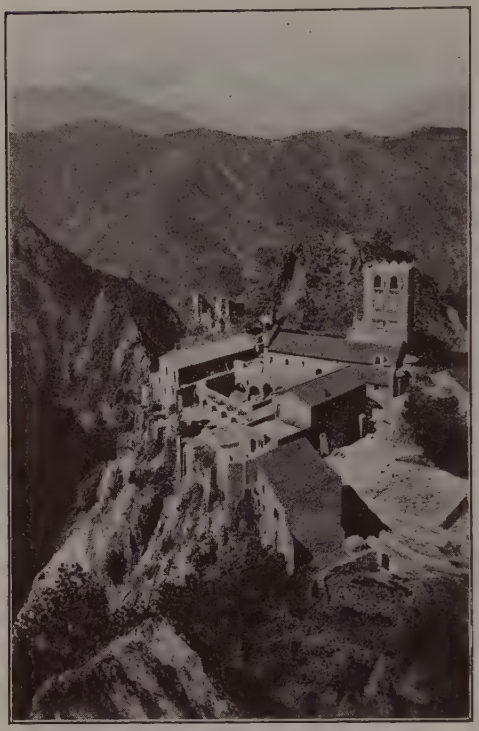


Fig. 452.—Panoramic view of the monastery of San Martin del Canigó. Roussillon.

true of the doorway of the cloister, where the capitals compare with the Lombard reliefs of San Michele at Pavia and Sant Ambrogio at Milan.

The great church of the Seo de Urgel appears to have had antecedents in the country itself, particularly in the neighboring monasteries of San Saturnino at Tabérnoles and in that of Burgall. The cathedral itself later became the centre of an architectural influence; we find its type much lower down, almost as far as the plain bordering the Segre, in the church of the monastery of Gualter which was built in the barony of Rialp (Lerida). It was a period of great building activity for the little Catalan State of Urgel in the middle of the Eleventh Century. St. Armengol, bishop of the Seo, was the first of a long line of princely builders. It was at the time when we find in Castile a similar figure, St. Dominic of Silos, who built the most important monastery of that district. Like the latter, St. Armengol used his position to institute many public works. Not only did he build his cathedral, but he also spanned the rivers and the gorges of the Pyrenees with bridges. His enthusiasm as a pioneer of civilization cost him his life, for while he was directing the construction of the bridge over the Segre at Bar, he fell into the river and was drowned.

Others inspired by the same noble ideals were Atton, Bishop of Gerona, who founded a Romanesque cathedral which has since disappeared, and Oliva, Abbot of Ripoll and Bishop of Vich, who rebuilt his abbey and the cathedral. The great church of Ripoll, the burial place of all the Catalan counts, had been founded by Wilfred whose remains rested there. Twice modified, it was finally rebuilt from the foundations in the time of Oliva who consecrated it in the year 1032. The personal part taken by Oliva and the monks of his monastery in the direction of the work is well known, but it is probable that the masonry of the outer walls, the vaults and the ciborium as well as the bell-towers are the work of one of those bands of Lombard masters, such as we have seen taking part in the construction of the cathedral of the Seo de Urgel. But the plan adopted by Oliva for his royal church-pantheon was extremely ambitious. We do not know whether it was intended to contain two or four aisles in addition to the nave, seven apses and an exterior portico. (Plate XXXII.)

Interior of the church of San Pedro de Roda.

Façade of the church of the monastery of Ripoll.

The interiors of these churches were constructed according to a scheme which evidently called for a stucco and polychrome covering. In some of them we find some indications of this, in others none. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they were built with this idea in view.

We know that Cuxá was the centre of this Romanesque nucleus in the eastern Pyrenees. The monastic church of Canigó, in spite of its restricted size, has the character of a small basilica. Undoubtedly it belongs to the period in which it was begun, for it is stated that it was consecrated by Oliva and his brother, Count Wilfred of Cerdaña, at the beginning of the Eleventh Century. But the finest product of this school is, beyond question, the church of Ripoll.

Fig. 453.—Façade of the church of Cornellá del Conflent.

This entire series of great Catalan churches, including those of the Seo, Ripoll, Elna and the like, belongs to a group in the construction of which the Lombard masons took the more important part, working with the local sculptors who executed their façades. But at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, where the mountains come down to the sea, we still find the fine church of the ancient monastery of San Pedro de Roda, abandoned since the Seventeenth Century, which forms an exception to the general run of Catalan art. In the great church of San Pedro de Roda the Lombard builders had no part. Its sculptural decoration is of the utmost importance, particularly the carved capitals of its large columns which, superimposed in two rows, divide the walls of the nave. An inscription

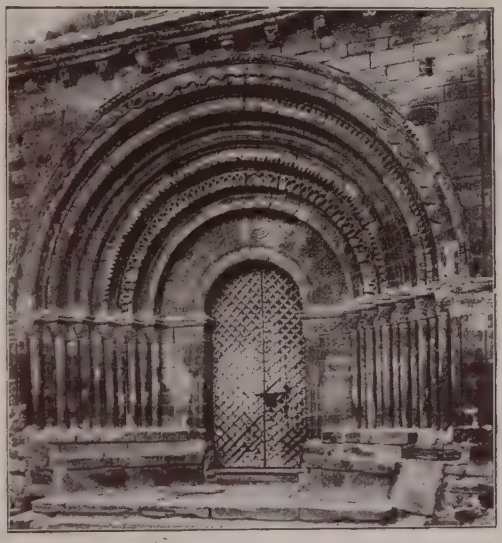


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Fig. 454.—Façade of the church of Cubells. LERIDA.

Fig. 455. — Belfry of the Seo de Urgel.

tells us that the church was consecrated by Abbot Tassi about the end of the Tenth Century, so we have here a monument which was built before the arrival of the Lombard masters. This would explain the purity of its style which is entirely local in spite of the large size of the church.

In addition to the purely architectural work of the Lombard masters, which was after all really monumental engineering, there was undoubtedly a highly advanced school of sculpture which seems to have anticipated those which grew up on the other side of the Pyrenees. In describing the remarkable Romanesque sculpture of Catalonia, archaeologists often cite the rudely carved stone reliefs of San Ginés de Fontanás in Roussillon, because this work has an inscription dated in the middle of the Eleventh Century. On this basis an attempt is made to show the incompatibility of so primitive an art with the perfection of the façade of Ripoll or the capitals of San Pedro de Roda. But as we have seen in the preceding chapter, the art of the reliefs found in a rural church is by no means that of a sculptural composition carved from the finest material and intended for a royal pantheon or a handsome church like that of San Pedro de Roda. (Plate XXXII.)

Fig. 456. — Belfry of Breda.

Later, toward the end of the Eleventh Century we find the structural traditions of the Lombard masters still an active force in the Romanesque style of Catalonia, but the native school became more and more important as time went on. In the group of Romanesque churches of Barcelona, the capital of the County, we see the progress of the two techniques. The oldest church in Barcelona, San Pedro de las Puellas, is an archaic church dating from the early days of the Reconquest. Its columns serve as buttresses in the interior of the nave like those of San Pedro de Roda. During the first half of the Eleventh Century the new church of San Pablo del

Fig. 457.—Monastery of Ripoll.
Capitals in the cloister.

Fig. 458.—San Benito de Bages.
Detail of the cloister.

Campo was built in an ancient monastery outside the walls of the city. It is of the Lombard type and of logical architectural construction, decorated only with bands and Lombard arcades on the outside and in the apses. Finally, at the end of the Twelfth Century, Count Raymond Berenguer the Great rebuilt the cathedral, and although this Romanesque structure has disappeared, the main doorway is still preserved in the cloister of the present church. It is all of white marble, and its classical air and slender Corinthian columns are a testimony to the strong influence of the Provençal school.

The combination of Carolingian French or Provençal with Italian or Lombard influences, together with those of the country itself, produced a new Romanesque school which is still preserved in the rural churches. Of some of these we have documentary information, such as contracts and acts of consecra-

PHOTOS MAS

Fig. 459.—Cloister of San Pedro de Galligans. GERONA.

Fig. 460. — Cloister of Elna. Roussillon.

tion, and these indicate the manner in which such structures were erected in Catalonia in the centuries between the year 1000 and the time of the introduction of Gothic art. It is still difficult to subdivide this school into periods and regions. In any case it will be seen from a comparison of the reproductions of the churches of San Pablo, San Jaime de Frontinyá, Cornellá del Conflent and Cubells (figs. 453 and 454) that the main doorway of the façade was interpreted according to the time when the structure was built. San Pablo de Tarragona still shows the local taste with its lobulated blind arcade and the pilasters at the corners which give it a certain classical flavor. San Jaime de Frontinyá is characteristic of the Lombard group. Cornellá del Conflent is typical of the early Twelfth Century with its elongated doorways and few columns which are tall and slender. That of Cubells has the exaggerated development of the archivolt with its decorated arches and numerous columns dating from the end of the Twelfth Century, when the Lombard influence had disappeared and in its place was the new prestige of the French monks of Cluny. The only Lombard element which resisted all the changes of the Romanesque period was the belfry, a magnificent square tower with bands and blind arcades, divided windows and merlons, such as we still see in the Seo (fig. 455), Elna, Ripoll, Cuxá, San Miguel de Fluviá, Vich and Breda (fig. 456). The cloisters also preserve their traditional form with arches resting upon double columns. One of the best examples is that of San Cugat del Vallés close to Barcelona. The apse and the older section of the nave is in the traditional Lombard style as well as the lower portion of the belfry. The cloister, on the other hand, is somewhat later and is the work of a Catalan master, Arnaldo Cadell, who left his portrait in one of the capitals and refers to himself in the Latin distichs which we find engraved upon a stone in one of the corners. The magnificent cloister of San Cugat del Vallés, with the vast repertory of Biblical scenes carved

Fig. 461. — Cloister of San Pablo del Campo. Barcelona.

upon its capitals, bears evidence to the abundance of iconographical material at the disposal of the Catalan sculptors of the middle of the Twelfth Century. Some of these capitals are ornamented with purely decorative designs and others with monsters facing one another or with vintage or industrial scenes. The same school also produced other handsome cloisters such as those of Ripoll (fig. 457), Santa Maria del Estany and San Benito de Bages (figure 458), as well as the two at Gerona, that of the cathedral, of San Pedro de Galligans (fig. 459) and of Elna in Roussillon (fig. 460), the most delicately carved of all, for it is built of the white marble of the country. The cloister of San Pablo del Campo near Barcelona is contemporary with the new church, that is, it belongs to the period in which it was restored in 1117, after being partly destroyed by the Moslems. The arches are polyfoil, but they rest on horizontal rows of columns; it seems likely that the form was imported from the Orient (fig. 461).

Fig. 462.—Apse of St. Martin Sarroca. CATALONIA.

Although it is rather small, San Martin Sarroca near Villafranca del Panadés is a very finished example of Catalan Romanesque art (fig. 462). Like the church of Cubells, it is one of the many which were set near a castle or fortress on the summit of a hill of strategic importance. But at Cubells we note slight Moslem influences in the decorations, while in San Martin Sarroca the pure Romanesque style is so delicate that we know it to be the work of a great artist. The details of the bases and capitals are all in the most refined taste. Following this type we begin to discern the influence of the Cistercians and the monastic transition style which produced the cathedrals of Tarragona and Lerida.

Fig. 463.—House in Tárrega. CATALONIA.

In addition to buildings of religious character, civil and military architecture

Fig. 464. — Tomb of Don Guillem and Don Ramon de Moncada. *(Monastery of Santas Creus.)*

must have developed in Spain in the castles and private buildings. We are beginning to learn something of this, although the material has as yet been little studied. The great cities were enclosed by fortified walls interrupted at regular intervals by circular towers. This is the case in the walls of Avila and portions of the defenses of Toledo and Gerona which date from the same period. The ruins of the castles deserve a methodical exploration, although most Spanish castles have been rebuilt at different times, and only some of the circular towers of the inner fortifications date from the earliest period. In the case of civil architecture, the large municipal buildings have disappeared, and we have only the remains of private houses of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries in some of

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Fig. 465. — Family tombs of the Aragonese nobility. *(San Juan de la Peña.)*

the older cities. In Catalonia, for example, we find a house in Tárrega still intact which dates from this period (fig. 463). From what we know of some of the Castilian cities and from towns like the Seo de Urgel and Sort, which are still more or less as they were during the Middle Ages, the houses were porticoed, and the upper stories projected over the street or rested upon uprights of wood or stone.

Figs. 466 and 467. — The Virgin of the Cloister. Solsona.

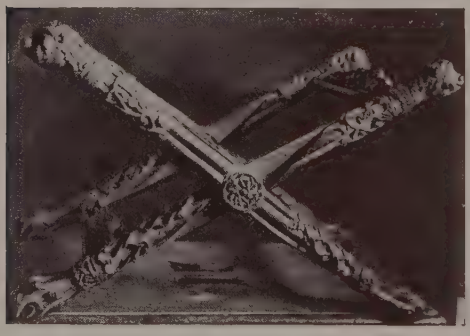
We have many examples of what might be called mortuary architecture. The bishops and feudal lords were usually buried in the cloisters or interiors of the churches. Sometimes their tombs are in the form of an antique sarcophagus like those of the church of Gualter in the province of Lerida. Again there are stone sepulchres in vaulted niches as in the monastery of Santas Creus (fig. 464). Others like those of San Juan de la Peña merely consist of niches hollowed out of the wall and closed with a stone or decorated terra-cotta tablet (fig. 465). Occasionally the grave is indicated only by a flat stone set in the floor.

In this survey of Spanish Romanesque art we have noted in connection with the more important monuments like the cathedrals of Santiago and Salamanca and the churches of Silos, Ripoll and Cuxá such magnificent works of sculpture as the reliefs of Silos, the portico of Compostela or the façade of Ripoll. There is no purpose in dwelling on the value of the Spanish sculpture of this period, which, if it does not advantage that of the remainder of

Figs. 468 and 469. — The Virgin of La Vega. Salamanca.

Fig. 470. — Romanesque capital in the cathedral of Tarragona.

Europe, it profits of all the progresses with the most extraordinary faculty of assimilation. Nevertheless, we must at least mention the Virgin of the Cloister in Solsona and the Virgin of the Vega in Salamanca which, were the most beautiful Spanish statues of the period. The former, apparently, dates from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, although it still has an archaic flavor. With its long tresses and gemmed garments it is worthy of comparison with the queens of the portal at Chartres and of St. Denis (figs. 466 and 467). The Virgin of the Vega in Salamanca, which is of enameled silver, is a rare specimen of French goldsmith's work, but it has been venerated in Spain, first in the monastery of the Vega or in the ancient cathedral where it was later brought and where it is still kept (figs. 468 and 469). Some of the capitals in the Romanesque cloisters are important sculptural compositions in themselves. We might mention those from the monastery of San Pedro near Barcelona, which are now in the Museo Provincial, and the Romanesque doorway of the cathedral of Tarragona where we find represented the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 470).



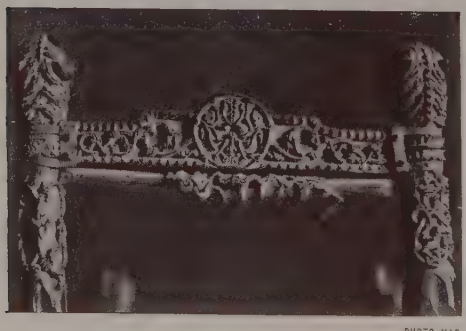


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Fig. 471. — Chair in the cathedral of Roda. ARAGON.

These Romanesque sculptors also accomplished marvels in works of a purely decorative character, such as the ornamentation of archivolts, doorways, windows and even smaller movable furnishings like the beautiful chair of the ancient cathedral of Roda in Aragon (fig. 471).

As might be expected, a school of decorative painting grew up in Spain parallel to the architecture and sculpture of the period. Little was known of this art until recent years, except for the miniatures of the manuscripts, some of which are profusely illustrated. Now, however, a large number of polychrome frescoes have been identified both in the churches of central Spain and

The Prudent Virgins. *(Church of Pedret.)*

in those of Catalonia and Aragon, which give us some idea of the merits of Spanish Romanesque decorative painting. The first monument known to contain paintings of this class was the so-called Panteón de los Reyes in the Colegiata of Leon. The vaults of this crypt were covered with paintings of Biblical subjects and the arches decorated with medallions (figs. 472 and 473). Later a number of mural paintings were recognized in Castile, and in 1908 a church was discovered near Soria the interior of which was ornamented with polychrome decorations. This is the church of San Baudel de Cárdenas, a splendid example of early Spanish decorative art with its hunting scenes and bands of monsters, elephants and other animals of the Far-East. The themes were evidently copied from Persian tapestries imported by the Moslems. Another school of mural decoration existed in Galicia, although little is known of it as yet.

Fig. 472. — Royal pantheon. *(Colegiata de San Isidoro.)* LEON.

Fig. 473. — Detail of the polychrome decoration of the royal pantheon. LEON.

Fig. 474. — Frontal with scenes from the life of St. Margaret. *(Museum of Vich.)*

Last of all, the most numerous and best studied series of frescoes is that of the Catalan district. These churches were built by the Lombard masters whose work was of a purely structural character and contained little sculptural decoration. Their naves are cold and lacking in friezes and mouldings; the vaults are plain without reenforcing arches; and their apses are bare stone shells. The domes, too, were smoothed off with plaster. All this would have given them an extremely bare appearance if they had not been enriched with some sort of polychrome decoration. And such was doubtless the case; they were probably painted with horizontal bands of Biblical scenes extending around the walls, and the vaults and apses covered with winged figures and medallions. (Plate XXXIII.) These churches were restored as time went on and their interiors modified by opening chapels. The decorations of the walls and vaults have disappeared, and only in the apse, protected by the altar, there are remains unspoiled by later attempts to embellish the church. Consequently, behind the high altars of the Lombard churches of the Pyrenees we often find old frescoes

Fig. 475. — Tapestry representing the Creation. *(Cathedral of Gerona.)*

Fig. 476. — Miniatures of the Creation.
(Bible of San Pedro de Roda.) PARIS.

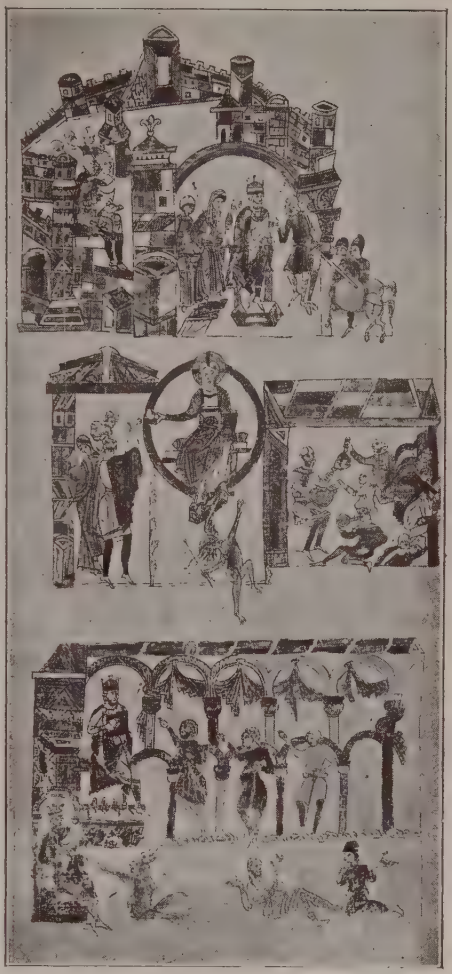
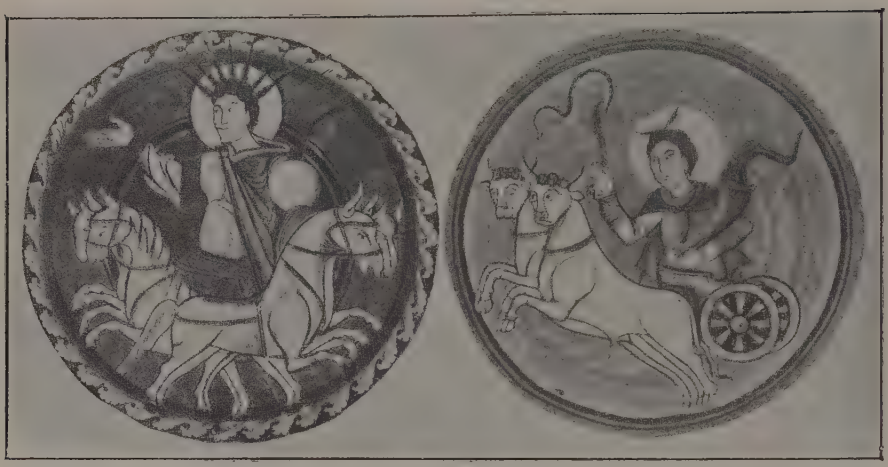


Fig. 477. — Miniatures of the Book of Job.
(Bible of Ripoll.) VATICAN.

preserved which are of the highest decorative value. In the vault there is usually the figure of Christ in an attitude of benediction or the Virgin seated and holding the Child in her arms. At either side are angels, seraphs or the symbols of the Evangelists. If it is the Virgin Mother that is in the centre, she is accompanied by the Magi in postures of adoration. Lower down, on the cylindrical wall below, we see prophets and apostles with the symbols pertaining to each. All these frescoes are painted in bright colors, reds, blues and intense yellows. Before they were partly hidden by the bulk of a baroque high altar or a large reredos, they could be seen clothing the end of the nave. The Spanish schools of painting owed little to the French; the colors are on a more vivid scale than those of the French frescoes. The background was divided into uniform zones which contrasted strongly with one another. Plate XXXIV gives us a good idea of the effect produced by one of these Lombard churches of Catalonia with the polychrome decorations of its walls and vault.

We still have in Catalonia painted panels of the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries, although a number have been carried to other countries. They are mostly in the collections of the museums of Vich and Barcelona. Such paint-



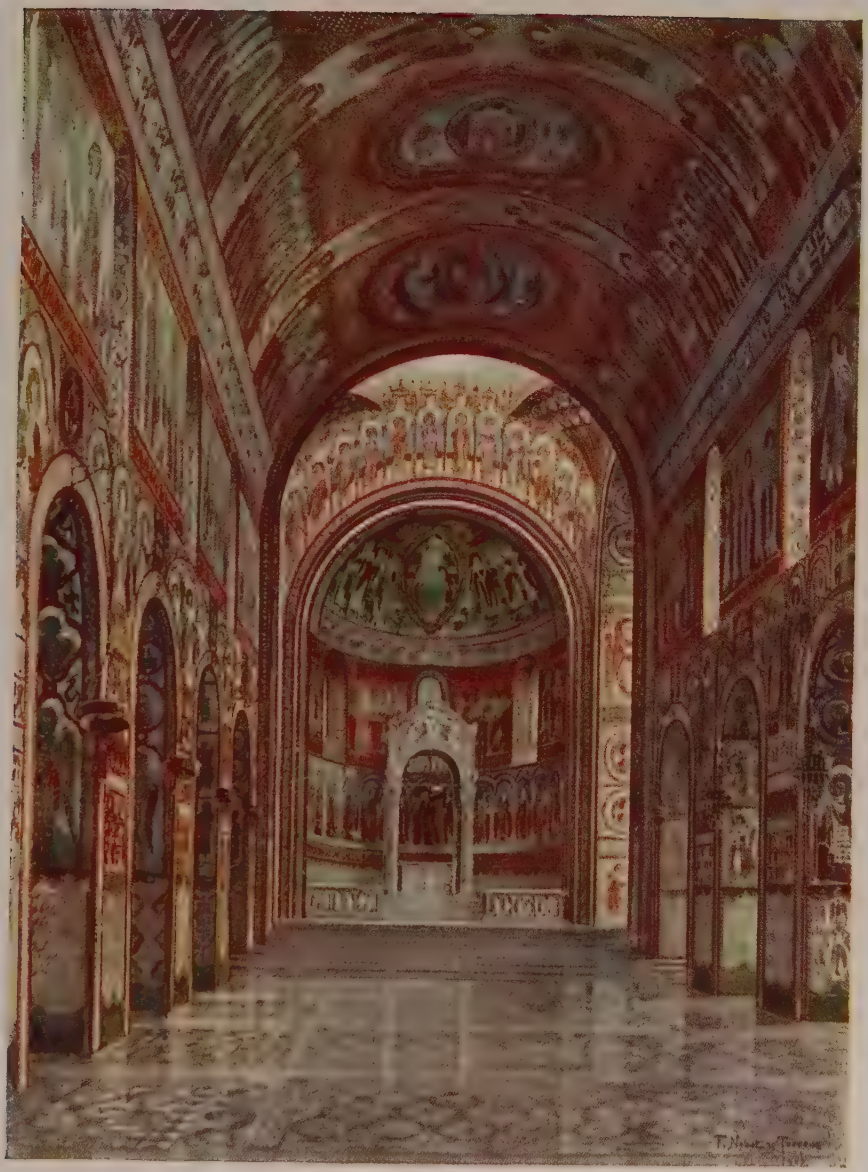
Figs. 478 and 479. — The sun and moon. Miniatures of a codex from Ripoll. VATICAN.

ings were not isolated icons, but formed part of the decoration of the altars, serving as frontals on the side facing the congregation. The colors are applied upon a sort of gypsum stucco which is often modeled in bold relief, and the colors are as brilliant as those of the frescoes. The subjects are also very similar, Christ and the Virgin surrounded by an aureole in the centre, and on either side are the apostles in horizontal bands. Later the painters employed a more varied repertory in these frontals, including legends of the mediaeval saints, such as St. Martin, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence and the like to whom many of these churches were dedicated (fig. 474). In this period we do not find the great reredos over the altar, for it was the custom for the priest to face the congregation. This left the view of the decorated frontal unobstructed. Upon the altar itself stood only the cross and candles. The apse was in plain sight of the congregation and with its fresco decorations it served the purpose later performed by the altar with its high screen.

Another manifestation of Romanesque pictorial art in Spain is the precious tapestry of the treasury of the cathedral of Gerona representing the Creation (fig. 475). It is now only a fragment. There is a border with astronomical representations. Above it is a figure which stands for the year and others of the months, planets, sun and moon, such as we see them depicted in a manuscript from Ripoll now in the Vatican (figs. 478 and 479).

Moreover the Creation scene in the centre of the Gerona tapestry shows its close connection with the Romanesque Bibles of Catalonia which are profusely illustrated. Two complete Catalan manuscripts of the Bible have been preserved with Eleventh Century miniatures. One is the great Bible of the monastery of San Pedro de Roda which was carried off to Paris by Marshal Noailles (fig. 476), and the other is the Bible of the abbey of Farfa, now in the Vatican, which was undoubtedly copied and illustrated in Ripoll (fig. 477).

Another school of miniaturists in central Spain filled their manuscripts with profuse illustrations. We do not know the connection between these two schools



Polychrome decoration of a Catalan Romanesque church. *(Restored by F. Nebot.)*

Fig. 480. — Miniature of the Apocalypse of St. Severe. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* Paris.

nor what influence they exerted upon one another. Both owe much to the old Visigothic culture, but the Catalan school seems to have been keenly alive to the work of the Carolingian miniaturists. In the earliest Bibles of the Castilian district, such as those of San Millan and San Pedro de Cardeña, only the portion containing the list of books was illustrated. Here we see horseshoe decorations as in the Bible of La Cava which is certainly of Visigothic inspiration.

Fig. 481. — Cross of the Angels. Oviedo

Fig. 482. — Cross of Victory. Oviedo.

Later, we again find the text itself ornamented with illuminated capitals and illustrated with scenes. A number of Castilian Bibles of this sort have been preserved, one in Leon and the other, the so-called Bible of Avila, in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. The latter is somewhat later still, possibly of the Twelfth Century.

Of all the books of the Bible the favorite in the monasteries of Spain was the Apocalypse with its visions of monsters, angels and other strange beings. Besides the vision of St. John, the Castilian miniaturists were fond of illustrating a local text consisting of the commentary of St. Beatus of Liébana on the Apocalypse. This explanation or commentary on the text of St. John is illustrated, page by page, with large pictures (fig. 480). Here we find the same vivid colors which we have already noted in the frescoes, the same bright bands of colors in the background and a vigorous fancy displayed in the rendering of the extraordinary visions described and interpreted in the Biblical text. These commentaries of the Book of Revelations were often copied, and some twenty copies are still extant. The oldest is now in the collection of Yates Thompson in America and dates from the Ninth Century. It is beginning to be suspected that the art, of which the manuscripts of

Fig. 483.—Cross of San Salvador, the work of Gundisalvo and Sancha. *(Morgan Collect.)*

the work of St. Beatus were the vehicle, was also of Visigothic origin. This is at least true of what makes reference to the text itself. The Saint interpolated fragments from the works of the old national church.

We do not yet know precisely the principal centres nor the territory covered by the different schools of miniaturists of Spain in Romanesque times. The monastery of Silos in Castile was an important centre of this decorative art. Here the influence of the Arabs in the monastery is plainly seen. Other centres of the same art at that time were Cordova before the expulsion of the monks by Abd-er-Rahman, Astorga and, in the Catalan district, Ripoll, Vich, San Pedro de Roda and Barcelona. (Plate XXXV.)

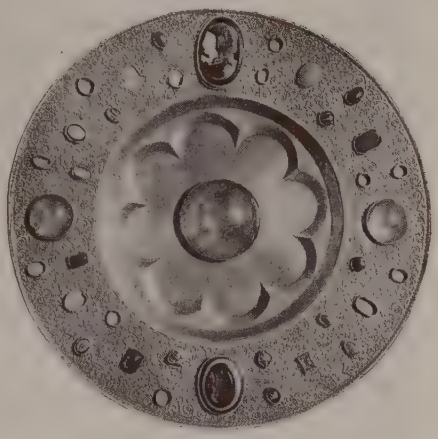


Fig. 484. — Paten ornamented with gems and gold filigree. *(Monastery of Silos.)*

Among the industrial arts, we shall first consider their goldsmith's work. This, as we already know, was the principal art of the Germanic peoples, and after the Reconquest it again flourished in Asturias. The cathedral of Astorga has preserved a silver casket ornamented with reliefs which is the work of the neo-Visigothic period. It bears the names of Alfonso the Great and Queen Ximena.

Fig. 485. — Eucharistic dove. *(Monastery of Silos.)*

In the treasure of the cathedral of Oviedo there are still two famous crosses, one, called the Cross of the Angels, and the other that of Victory which is supposed to have belonged to Pelayo. Both are very old. The one believed to have been the work of the angels was made by foreigners who mysteriously disappeared, but the other bears the name of its maker who was employed in the royal workshop in the castle of Gauzon (figs. 481 and 482). Another cross of the same type is now in America (fig. 483). There was a similar cross in the cathedral of Santiago which has disappeared.

We have noted how Moslem artisans worked at Silos in collaboration with Spanish workmen. The magnificent chalice of St. Dominic is still preserved

Fig. 486. — Cross in the cathedral of Gerona.

in the monastery and it is a marvelous piece of Spanish Romanesque goldsmith's work. It bears unmistakable signs of this contact with Moslem art, however. There are other jewels in this monastery which date from its brilliant period, among them a paten ornamented with filigree, gems and cameos which may date from the time of St. Dominic (fig. 484), and a eucharistic dove which contained the host on the altar (fig. 485). The later is an interesting piece of artistic work and consists of a bronze head of Roman workmanship of the Fourth Century to which the body has been added. The wings move on hinges, and it still serves the purpose for which it was intended. Among the treasures of Silos were the handsome frontals of enameled gold that now are to be seen in the Museum of Burgos. These are not characteristically Spanish like the filigree paten just described. They were probably imported from the workshops of Limoges as was the Virgin of La Vega in Salamanca.

Down to the time of the French invasion in 1808 the cathedral of Gerona possessed a magnificent frontal of silver-gilt which is stated to have been the gift of the Countess Gisla at the beginning of the Century. There was a similar frontal of silver repoussé at Ripoll, but it was melted down by the monks during the War of the Spanish Succession in order to aid the Austrian Pretender against his French rival. The best existing examples of Catalan Romanesque goldsmith's work are the ancient crosses of Vilabertran, Gerona and Vich (figs. 486 and 487).

These three crosses date from the Thirteenth Century, and although they were executed at a time when Gothic art had become the fashion in Spain, they still have the traditional form of the cross ornamented with medallions which is so characteristic of the Roman-

Fig. 487. — Cross in the cathedral of Vich.

Miniature in the Book of Rights. *(Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.)*

esque period. The examples of carved ivories found in the various Spanish cathedrals consist largely of reliquary caskets of Moslem workmanship, but a contact with such skilful workers in ivory as the Spanish Arabs could not but give rise to a national school of this art. The principal work of this school is a fine cross of King Ferdinand and Queen Sancha now in the National Museum of Archaeology at Madrid (fig. 488). This large ivory cross is carved on both faces with exquisite reliefs, all different, in which the decorative themes have a certain Visigothic flavor combined with Moslem patterns and evangelical figures.

This ivory cross was long the property of the church of San Isidoro in Leon before it was acquired by the Museum. At its foot are the names of King Ferdinand and Queen Sancha, which permits us to fix the date between the years 1037 and 1065.

Fig. 488. — Crucifix of King Ferdinand and Queen Sancha. *(Museo Arqueológico.)* MADRID.

We have already noted the presence in Spain of important pieces of enamel-work from Limoges, such as the frontals of Silos and, perhaps, the Virgin of La Vega in Salamanca. In Burgos we find another fine piece of work of French enamel. This is the prostrate statue of Bishop Mauricio, the founder of the present Gothic cathedral. It is of gilded bronze and larger than life-size. In addition to these large and handsome examples of French enamel, there are also a number of pieces of less merit from the local workshops. They are plates and ritual objects and are readily recognized by their coarser paste and brighter colors and the traces they show of Oriental Moslem influences.

Summary. — Early in the period of the reconquest a Christian state was founded in Asturias which continued the traditions of the old Visigothic school. In Oviedo, the capital, the churches of this period have disappeared, and only the vaulted apartment called the Cámara Santa remains. But in the neighborhood of Oviedo we still have the churches of Santa Maria de Naranco and San Miguel de Liño, which are characteristic examples of the Asturian style with its Visigothic traditions. Another similar church with a nave and two aisles is that of the monastery of the Salvador de la Val-de-Dios, and even in the Tenth Century the church of Sta. Cristina de Lena was consecrated. The screen of the latter is decorated with reliefs in the Germanic, or Visigothic, style. Another school inspired by the Visigothic tradition appeared in the lands dominated by the Moslems. Here were large churches of the basilica type in which horseshoe arches predominated. Under Provençal influence, perhaps, three large cathedrals were built, Santiago de Compostela, Túy and Lugo. That of Santiago has a very fine portico which is one of the most perfect manifestations of Spanish art. In Castile is another group consisting of the cathedrals of Salamanca, Toro and Zamora. They

are characterized by a lantern or extradosed cupola over the crossing. The church of Silos was probably of the same type. In the Catalan district an early school of which little is known is reminiscent of classical and Visigothic tradition and was much affected by the arrival of master-masons from Lombardy. Later a Provençal influence was felt. The most important church of the first type is that of San Pedro de Roda. The second, that of the Lombard influence, is represented by the cathedral of the Seo de Urgel; and the third, the period of Provençal influence, is seen in the Romanesque cathedral of Barcelona, of which only the door of the cloister now remains. Among the more important examples of Spanish Romanesque sculpture are the Pórtico de la Gloria, the façade of Ripoll, and some works in the round like the Virgin of La Vega and that of Solsona. A number of schools of decorative painting are now being recognized in Spain, one in Galicia and another in Castile. That of Catalonia, however, seems to have been the most prolific. During the Romanesque period the books most frequently illustrated were their Bibles, particularly the Book of Revelations. In the minor arts we first find a sort of renaissance of the old Visigothic forms in the goldsmith's work of Asturias. Later the influence of the neighboring Moslem population became a permanent force in this art and gave a special character to Spanish Romanesque arts and crafts.

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Fig. 489. — Castilian ivory. *(Morgan Collection.)*

Fig. 490. — Cathedral of Ferrara.

CHAPTER XIII

ROMANESQUE ART IN NORTHERN ITALY.
PISAN ART. — ROMANESQUE ART IN SOUTHERN ITALY.
ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN APULIA.

During the Middle Ages when Romanesque art was flourishing in most parts of Europe, Italy, without coming to any definite decision, hesitated to imitate the vaulted structures which were being built beyond the Alps. Here we find an individuality so marked that a separate chapter seems to be required in this connection. Even during the centuries of vacillation, we find numerous works of art deserving the most careful study. It was a period when political unity did not exist in Italy. Two great parties strove for supremacy, the Ghibellines, or partisans of the German emperors, and the Guelfs who supported the Pope. Cities were divided by warring factions, and provinces rose up against one another. This rivalry produced an emulation which stimulated the production of great works of art and the construction of large buildings in spite of the political chaos which often accompanied it. The cities, which still preserved something of the old spirit of the Roman municipalities, would naturally desire to signalize their power by building huge gateways, towers defending the surrounding country and, best of all, great cathedral churches which were the gathering-place of the citizens.

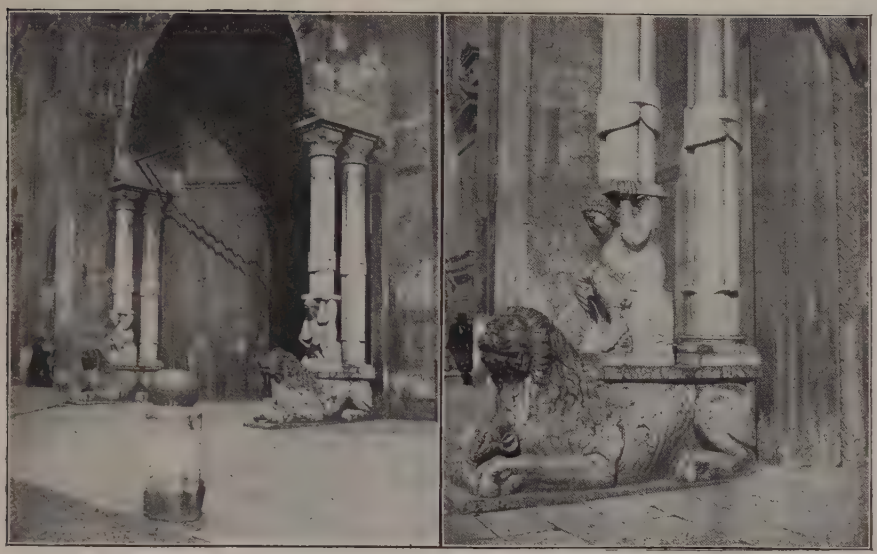
Figs. 491 and 492. — Details of the jambs of the principal doorway. *(Cathedral of Ferrara.)*

In Lombardy, however, the art of the local Romanesque builders was combined with decorative forms imported from Germany. At this time Northern Italy maintained uninterrupted relations with the cultured nations on the other side of the Alps. Its politics were Ghibelline and generally Germanophile. Consequently we find in the cathedrals of Modena and Ferrara the influences of German Romanesque art, particularly in the many storied façades embellished with galleries and ornate doorways flanked with columns resting on the backs of dragons and other monsters (figs. 491 and 492).

The cathedral of Ferrara, which was consecrated in 1135, does not have the appearance of a Romanesque building. Its exterior was more or less modified during the Gothic period; a tribune was added in the centre of the façade which was disfigured by building high wings on either side (fig. 490). But on the sides of the structure the triforium and blind arcades so characteristic of the Lombard builders are still to be seen. The low portal, which is the original one, is supported by four columns resting on lions and crouching figures (figures 493 and 494).

The interior of the cathedral of Ferrara is in the Lombard style, a worthy successor of S. Ambrogio at Milan and S. Michele at Pavia, the most important early examples of this school of architecture. Of the same type are the cathedrals of Parma, Modena and Piacenza and, most important of all, the fine church of Borgo San Donnino which is perhaps the purest of all the Lombard cathedrals of the last Romanesque period.

The superimposition of high galleries and arcades so characteristic of Lombard construction is also seen in the cathedral and baptistery of Parma. We shall see how the Lombard style spread to the south as far as Rome and Lazio. The baptistery of Parma has an octagonal plan and the exterior is embellished with arches rising from the ground floor (fig. 495). Above is a series of galleries with columns supporting horizontal friezes. Inside there is in each corner of the



Figs. 493 and 494. — Main doorway and details of columns. *(Cathedral of Ferrara.)*

octagon a niche; this gives the plan sixteen sides. Above these are galleries corresponding to those on the exterior of the building.

Another cathedral well worthy of mention is that of Ancona on the Adriatic. Its exterior is entirely in the Lombard style. The sides are topped with a frieze consisting of a blind arcade, and the walls are divided by perpendicular bands not unlike pilasters (fig. 496). The cathedral of Ancona is set upon a hill overlooking the city and port. From its portico of brown Istrian marble supported by two lions is seen the blue Adriatic studded with red sails. Its situation heightens the effect of the monument which in itself is rather plain. Inside is a ceiling of wood painted various colors. It is in the form of a vault like that of the cathedral of Aquileia which will be treated in our discussion of the art of the Germanic countries.

In addition to the two influences already mentioned, that of the Lombard builders and the German decorative sculptors, we find in Liguria a third, that of Tuscany. In the cathedral of Genoa, for example, all three tendencies converge. Its ornamental bands of colored stone are characteristic of the first period of Tuscan art (fig. 497). This cathedral appears to have been begun in the latter part of the Eleventh Century, but it was not consecrated until 1118. The façade is somewhat later, for it shows plainly the influence of the French Gothic style.

The cloister of S. Lorenzo at Genoa, on the other hand, is purely Lombard. It is so like those constructed by the Lombard masters in Catalonia, that a photograph of this cloister could be easily mistaken for that of San Pedro de Galligans or the cathedral of Gerona in Spain. Artistically Genoa was not a city of outstanding individuality. Although it sometimes anticipated the other Italian cities, it always remained within the orbit of its neighbours. As a matter of fact, it produced nothing very original in architecture, in sculpture or

Fig. 495.— Interior of the baptistery at Parma.

painting until well into the period of the Renaissance.

Although Tuscany actually created a new art, it was also sensible to the influence of the Lombard architects. At Lucca we find not only the church of S. Frediano entirely in the architectural style of Northern Italy, but also S. Michele which follows the Tuscan taste and still retains its Lombard campanile.

At the beginning of the Twelfth Century newer building techniques replaced throughout Italy those of the Lombard Romanesque masons whose influence over Italian architects had endured for three centuries. The need was felt for something more aesthetic than the rather monotonous arches and plain bands which had been employed from the beginning of the Middle Ages to accentuate the various architectural features of a building.

Early in the Eleventh Century Pisa began to awaken and give indications of an artistic renaissance, particularly in the field of architecture. Like Siena, Pisa had been a Roman city. Many antique marbles have been found within its walls, and as in Venice we find here a disposition to collect works of art and even bring them from foreign lands. In the Campo Santo there are still preserved a number of Greek marbles which were probably acquired during the Middle Ages, and it was supposed that the first Pisan sculptors of the Renaissance studied the Roman sarcophagi assembled in that city. Regarding the problem of the origin of Renaissance sculpture, we shall see at the end of this chapter that another solution has now been found; but we cannot deny the marvelous way in which Pisan art anticipated that of the rest of Italy during this period. The great monuments of Pisa precede those of Florence and Siena. When the Romanesque period was in full swing and the other peoples of Western Europe were still struggling with the structural problems of the groined vault, Pisa was building her

Fig. 496. — Cathedral of Ancona.

proud cathedral of white marble with a purity of line that seems almost classical. The same is true of the monuments surrounding this building; the Leaning Tower, the baptistery which also served as a concert hall and the cloister employed as a cemetery. All four occupy the great deserted square where the spirit of old Pisa seems petrified in those marble piles which have survived intact so many mutation of civilization and taste (fig. 498).

Fig. 497. — Doorway of the cathedral of Genoa.

The oldest and most important building of this group is the cathedral. It was begun in 1006, possibly on a more modest plan than that of the present structure. But as the Republic grew in wealth and power, its citizens believed that the time had come to create something greater which would be a permanent monument to the glory of their State. At that time the city was not so far from the sea as it is today. The Arno was navigable and ships could sail up the river and moor at the city docks. Its commerce was not so specialized as that of Venice which at that time traded only with the East. The Pisans had factories along the coast of Northern Africa and maintained relations with all the peoples of the Western Mediterranean. These people conquered Corsica and Sardinia from the Saracens. Allied with the Count of Barcelona they captured Minorca. They policed the Italian coast against pirates and finally in 1062, before the Norman occupation of Sicily which was still held by the Saracens, they surprised Palermo in a night attack, sacked the city and sailed home, their galleys laden with treasures. These spoils of war were mostly employed in building their cathedral, the work of which was directed by an architect named Boschetto. He appears to have been a Greek, and the inscriptions of the cathedral are prodigal in his praises, comparing him to Daedalus and Ulysses.

Fig. 498. — Monumental group of buildings at Pisa.
The Campo Santo, baptistery, cathedral and campanile.

Whether or not Boschetto was a Byzantine is open to question. In any case his work reminds us little of the technique of the Orient, and he must have been an admirer of the old Roman basilicas to which, in a general way, the lines of his plan conform. After the death of Boschetto the great cathedral was comparable only to that of the classical temples. From the very beginning its lines seem to have been planned in such a manner as to achieve the marvelous effect produced by the entire composition.

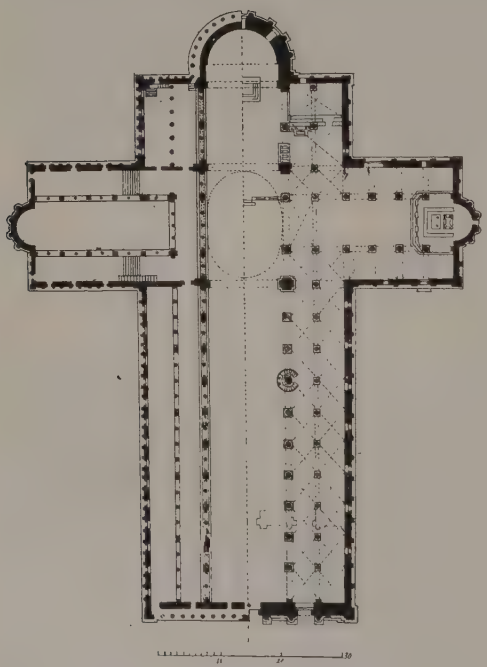
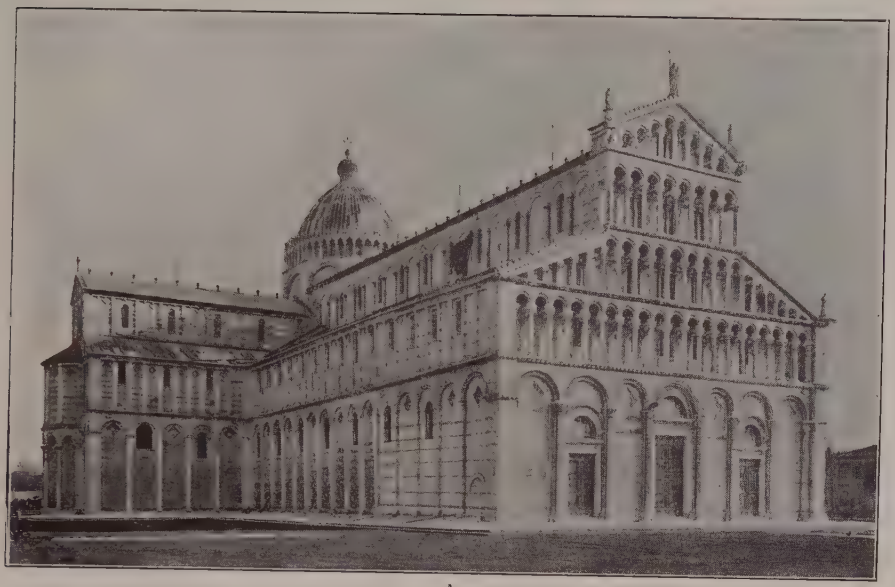


Fig. 499. — Plan of the cathedral of Pisa.
On the right is the plan of the lower floor and to the left that of the galleries.

Its plan is in the form of a Latin cross (fig. 499). The building contains a nave and four aisles. The former has a wooden roof, and the latter are covered with groined vaults, while above the crossing is an elliptical cupola. The columns separating the nave and aisles are all monoliths of polished granite. The antique capitals and Attic bases are all uniform and are, perhaps, the spoils of some Roman building in Sicily



A

B

CATHEDRAL OF PISA

A. Main façade.—B. Roof and dome.

or even in Tuscany, which was demolished to furnish material for the new cathedral. Upon these columns rest large arches supporting the galleries over the aisles. The latter are decorated with a natural polychrome consisting of bands of white and dark green marble.

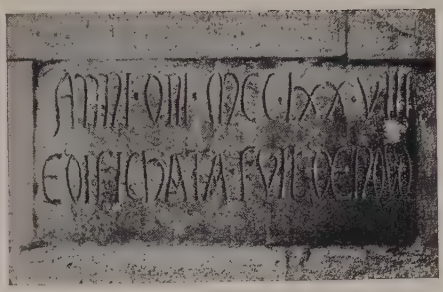


Fig. 500.— Dedication of the cathedral of Pisa.

The exterior is also ornamented with the alternating bands of white and dark stone (Plate XXXVI) so characteristic of Pisan architecture; but in the corners between the arches are handsome marquetry decorations, particularly on the main façade. The latter is constructed with a view of producing an effect of great architectural beauty, with its simple repetition of arcades and galleries which form a sort of lattice-work covering the wall of the church. At first sight these arches seem to be all the same, but closer observation reveals the skill with which this apparent uniformity is really composed of the richest variety, and monotony and vulgarity have been avoided by employing expedients of a very simple character. In his "Seven Lamps of Architecture," Ruskin accompanies his analysis of this façade with the most enthusiastic praise. To him it is a criterion, a production essentially architectural in its character which, like a great musical work, achieves its effects solely by its proportions and the measured rythm of its component parts.

The plate and illustrations will give the reader an idea of the details and the general effect of this famous monument. On the lowest story are seven arches which vary alternately, but are symmetrically arranged on either side of the central doorway. In the galleries above (fig. 502), the middle one varies from the other two in that the columns rise from the centres of the arches below. Beneath the slopes of the roof the spaces between the columns become narrower in order to keep their width in proportion to their decreased height. The entire decoration of the exterior of the cathedral of Pisa consists of this simple combination of columns and arcades. There are hardly any sculptures, but only the geometrical patterns of the marquetry of marble and other hard stone.

Fig. 501.— Cathedral of Pisa.
Upper part of the façade.

The effect was the finest produced by such simple devices since the period of classical art, when the Parthenon and Erechtheum were built. We may well ask ourselves the reasons for this admirable result, and why the work is interesting and not monotonous. Ruskin has made a

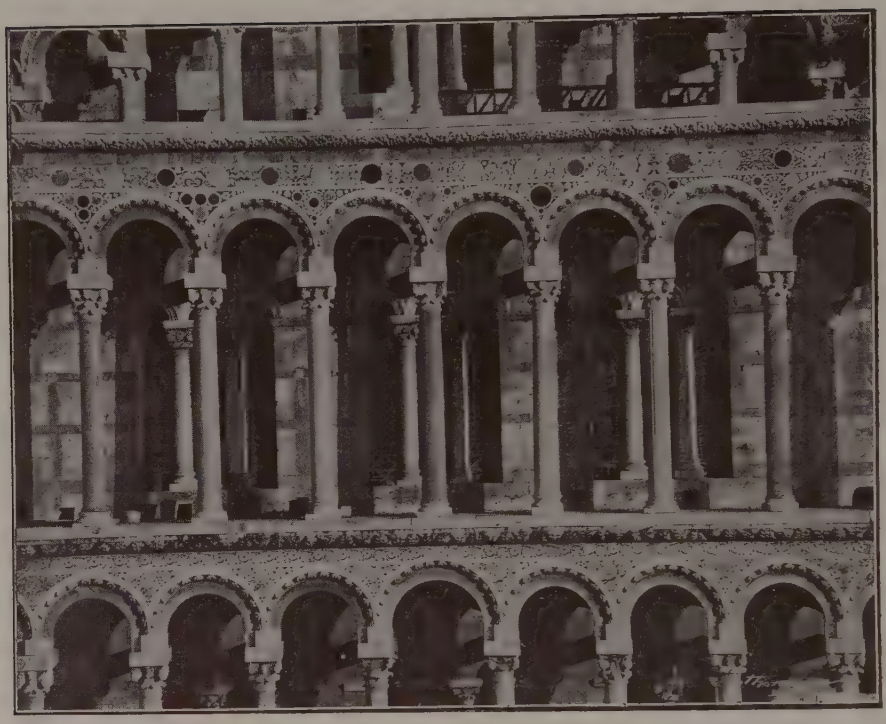


Fig. 502. — Cathedral of Pisa. Detail of the façade.

close analysis of the relation between the forms and proportions of the different portions of the façades of this cathedral and has found that with all its apparent uniformity the subtle variation of each element contributes greatly to the effect produced by the whole. The various elements are arranged with the utmost skill and ingenuity. Sometimes the piece of marble set in an angle is greater than the one on the other side of the same arch. The columns of an arch may vary in height. "Now," adds Ruskin, "I call *that* Living Architecture. There is sensation in every inch of it, and an accomodation to every architectural necessity with a determined variation in arrangement which is exactly like the related proportions and provisions in the structure of organic form."

Ruskin's ideas of naturalism no longer correspond to our modern architectural ideals, but in his defense of the cathedral of Pisa the English essayist is absolutely right. American architects have made more recent studies of this cathedral and have discovered new and subtle differences in its measurements. Neither the interior nor the exterior are constructed along absolutely straight lines. As in the Greek temples, they are curved sufficiently to remedy the perspective. In our illustration (fig. 502) we see that the horizontal lines of the second highest portion of the façade are curved toward either end. Consequently, when viewed from the centre, they appear perfectly horizontal.

The cathedral was consecrated in 1118 by Pope Gelasius II, but its ornamentation and modification, possibly, lasted until the end of the Thirteenth

Fig. 503. — Baptistery of Pisa.

Century, for an inscription of that year records the fact that the cathedral *edificata fuit de novo* (fig. 500).

The baptistery was begun in 1153 under the direction of a certain Deotisalvi who had already built the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Pisa and that of S. Cristoforo at Lucca. The baptistery of Pisa (fig. 503) is a marvelous architectural achievement, although critics are not as unanimous in admiring it as in the case of the cathedral. It is built on a circular plan, and the interior is surrounded by an aisle with a gallery above it. The space in the centre containing the baptismal fonts is covered by a high conical dome (figs. 504 and 506).

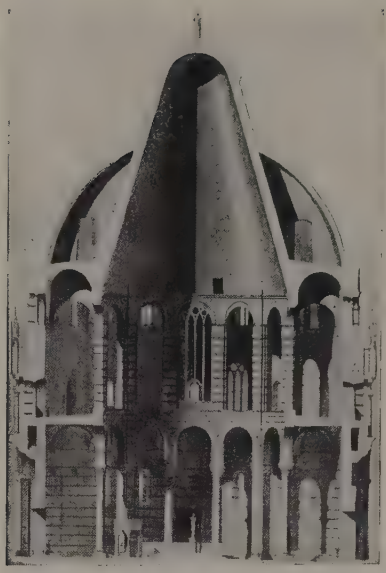


Fig. 504.—Cross-section of the baptistery.

Fig. 505.—Interior of the baptistery. Pisa.

It seems likely that the cupola was originally pierced in the centre and its exterior extradosed, that is, of the same conical shape which we see inside. During the Renaissance, however, this conical cupola was surrounded by a hemispherical dome through which the point of the cone emerged. The exterior wall which at first was ornamented only with the small arches typical of the Pisan style, was later decorated with Gothic pinnacles. But with all its modifications and additions, the baptistery which stands by itself in the centre of the square at Pisa is still a most unusual monument; indeed, it is unique. Its individuality is so accentuated that there is nothing resembling it among the buildings of any period.

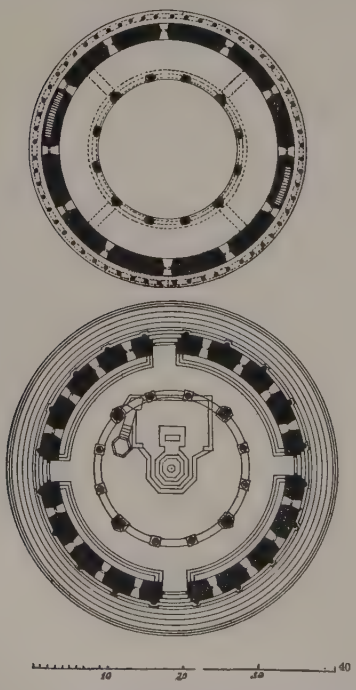


Fig. 506. — Plan of the lower floor of the gallery of the baptistery. Pisa.

Besides the cathedral is the campanile, a cylindrical tower of seven stories surmounted by a superstructure, also cylindrical, which contains the bells. The outer walls of this tower are ornamented with bands of arches

which harmonize with those of the façade of the cathedral and with the marbles and marquetry as well. The remarkable inclination of this tower was not intended by its builders, but was due to the settling of the ground beneath (figs. 507 and 508). It began to be noticed even as early as during the construction of the first gallery, and an attempt was made to remedy the situation by making the cornice on one side broader than on the other. When the work had progressed to the second and third galleries, the tower began to lean still more, and construction was suspended for sixty years. In 1236, however, it was decided to go on with the work, and the new architect in making a preliminary survey of the situation discovered that the tower was already some eight inches out of plumb. Today the top is more than thirteen feet out of line, and the structure still continues to settle, although very slowly.

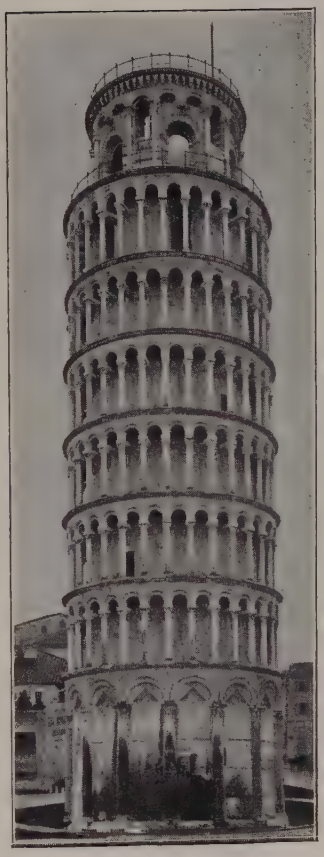


Fig. 507. — The Leaning Tower of Pisa.

We can hardly leave this important group of buildings without describing the Campo Santo, which, together with the campanile, the cathedral and the baptistery, forms a monumental composition called *delle quattro fabriche*. It belongs to a period which is treated elsewhere in the present work, for it was begun about the end of the Thirteenth Century, when the influence of Gothic art had spread more or less over the whole of Italy. But although its art is distinct, its location and the use to which it was put make it difficult to treat it otherwise than in connection with the other three buildings of this magnificent group. Without it Pisa would hardly be Pisa. This handsome cloister, which is the cemetery of Pisa, is a plastic commentary of such beauty and solitary richness that it is a worthy companion of the cathedral and the other deserted monuments of the old town. It is built in the form of a rectangular court which was filled with earth brought from Calvary by the Pisan fleet at

Fig. 508. — Leaning Tower of Pisa.

Fig. 509. — Campo Santo. Pisa.

the end of the last Crusade. There are no openings in its outer walls, and their smooth surface makes a splendid background for the cathedral.

Within is a broad gallery containing many souvenirs of Pisa's greatness; glorious trophies, tombs of famous citizens of the Republic and works of art treasured only for their intrinsic beauty. Here are Greek busts and stelae and the Roman sarcophagi already mentioned beside tombs like that of the German Emperor Henry VII, who wished to be buried in the faithful Ghibelline city, and of the Countess Matilda (fig. 509).

In another volume we shall discuss the important part played by the Campo Santo of Pisa in the development of Italian art. Its broad walls are covered with frescoes by the greatest artists of the Renaissance. Through the arches with their Gothic tracery we see waving dark cypresses. Indeed, everything contributes to the singular effect of this famous cemetery; the square in front, its smooth white walls and the works of art within. It is all art, the atmospheric effect as well as the paintings decorating its interior; not only its architectural

Fig. 510.—Apse of a Pisan church in Sardinia.

features, proportions and lines, but also the harmony of this monument with its surroundings. To this dithyramb of eulogies of the buildings of Pisa we must add the contradictory note supplied by the French critics who love the purer Gothic forms of northern lands. To them the Italian cathedral will always be an illogical structure the exterior of which does not harmonize with its interior. From without the cathedral suggests a nave and two aisles, while we find four aisles inside. This, of course, surprises the student of the French Gothic in which every element is set in accordance with the strictest logic. In his *Manuel d'archéologie française*. Enlart tells us: "Never has composition been more defective than in the Italian architecture of the Middle Ages, nor monotony more tedious than in the façades of the cathedrals of Pisa and Lucca; in the galleries of the Campo Santo the faulty taste of the proportions is at its height." But our French critic does not realize the enormous variety of truly artistic manifestations. The cathedrals of Amiens and Chartres would be unsuited to Pisa; the surroundings, light and color of Tuscany demanded something utterly different from the buttresses of Northern France.

Of early Pisan art we have not only the monuments of the city itself, such as S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno and S. Pietro in Grado near where the old gate stood, but others of the same style at Lucca and Pistoja. The façades of S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno and of S. Michele at Lucca are smaller examples of the same arrangement of decorative arches which we find on the cathedral of Pisa, but they lack the happy artistic effect of the magnificent Duomo. Pisan architecture also spread to Sardinia (figs. 510, 511 and 512) which was then a colony of the

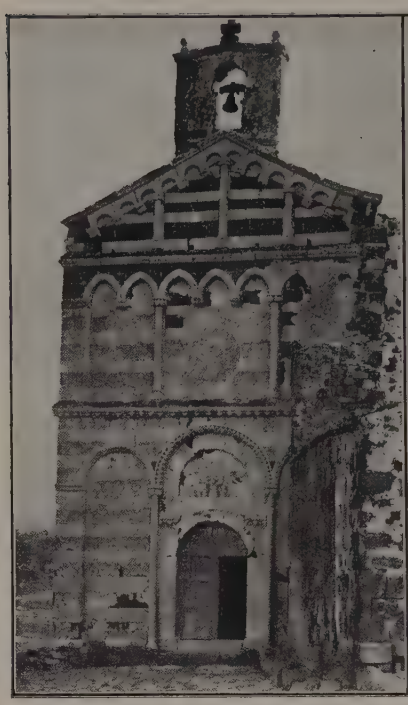


Fig. 511. — S. Pietro de Immagini at Bulzi. Pisan church in Sardinia.

Fig. 512. — S. Maria de Jericho in Castelsardo. Pisan church in Sardinia.

Republic, and it is interesting to note in this island the same superimposition of decorative arches and natural polychrome composed of bands of colored marble. In Tuscany we see combined the white marble of Carrara and the dark green serpentine from the quarries of Prato.

The influence of the Pisan style extended to other great Tuscan cities such as Florence and Siena. At Florence, for example, is the lovely baptistery which Dante calls *il bel San Giovanni,* an octagonal structure decorated on the outside by the marble-workers of Pisa and inside by Byzantine mosaic-artists. Its construction, however, recalls the baptisteries of Lombardy. Vasari tells us that the marquetry on the exterior was the work of Cambio, but, as we have already noted, it must be older. Indeed, the history of the handsome Florentine baptistery is still most obscure.

On the hills beyond the Arno not far from Florence is the delicate church of San Miniato, a beautiful and mysterious product of these centuries. Here we find the same marble marquetry employed by the builders of Pisa. The interior is divided into a nave and two aisles by columns of classical proportions; its tranquility is that of an early Christian basilica. According to some, San Miniato was originally built by the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, while others believe it to have been a Byzantine structure dating from the time of Justinian. More probably its present form dates only from the Eleventh Century, but preserves the old arrangement with a high choir above the crypt and the altar facing the

congregation. Of all the beautiful monuments of the great city of Florence, the poetic little church of San Miniato outside the walls is still one of the most interesting.

Fig. 513.—The baptistery at Florence.

Near the border of Tuscany and the Province of Rome is a little town, now almost deserted, which played an important part during the early Middle Ages. The Popes chastised it severely for its disobedience, and its name was even changed from Toscania to the diminutive Toscanella by which it is known today. Nevertheless, it still preserves intact two magnificent churches whose history goes back to very ancient times. One, that of S. Pietro, is mentioned in a document of the year 628; the other, S. Maria, appears to be even older. Both were restored about the Eleventh Century when the influence of the Lombard masters was at its height. The illustration (fig. 514) will give some idea of the interiors of these churches which are very similar and have the same accentuated mediaeval appearance.

Fig. 514.—Interior of the church of S. Maria. Toscanella.

Fig. 515.— Apse of the church of SS. John and Paul. Rome.

They are as large as cathedrals and seem even larger than they are in this small town. They still retain their altars, pulpits and polychrome Romanesque decorations. The exteriors of these churches are even more suggestive than their interiors. The white marble façades are encrusted with fragments of barbarian and Byzantine reliefs from the old Lombard churches which the Romanesque builders replaced with their own structures.

It is very evident that Lombard styles spread into the Province of Rome. In the apses of the old pontifical cathedral at Anagni we find the triforium and perpendicular bands (fig. 517) and in the church of SS. John and Paul at Rome (fig. 515) the apse is also decorated with a Lombard gallery on the outside like that of the Seo de Urgel. It has been frequently said that Rome produced nothing of architectural importance during the Romanesque period; but its art was far from being so sterile as such a statement would imply.

As a proof of the Roman decadence at this time, a house in the Forum Boarium has often been cited which according to tradition was that of the Tribune, Cola di Rienzi. It is composed of fragments taken from the ruins and

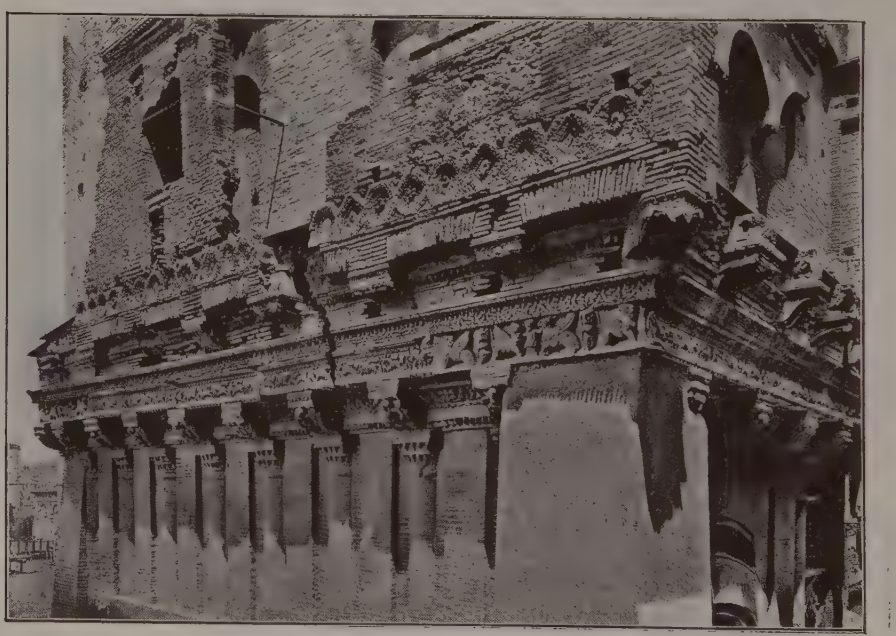


Fig. 516.—So-called house of Cola di Rienzi. Rome.

lacks any idea of architectural composition (fig. 516). An attempt was made to imitate the classical columns with humble brick forms set into the wall and supporting a sort of frieze composed of dissimilar marble fragments. In spite of the origin of the latter, the result is anything but in keeping with the spirit of ancient Rome. Nevertheless, during this period a number of the early Roman basilicas were restored and many of the brick towers and campaniles built which are still standing and are so characteristic of mediaeval Rome. This was the time when a school of Roman marble-workers grew up called the Cosmati, so named from a famous family whose members were masters of this art for several generations.

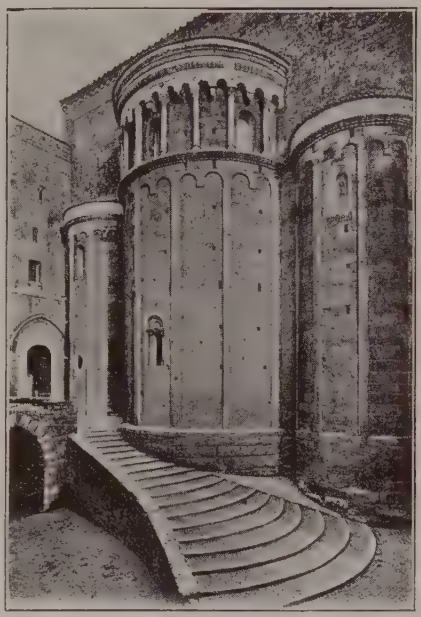


Fig. 517. — Apse of the cathedral, Anagni.

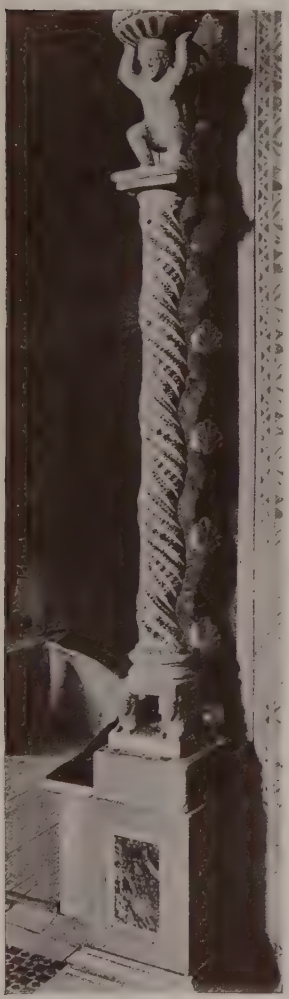


Fig. 518. — Candelabrum ornamented with mosaics. Anagni.

The work of these artists is beautiful and most original. They employed the great blocks of porphyry and slabs of red granite which at that time could be procured only in Rome where they had been used in ancient times for the pavements of the baths and villas. It was necessary only to cut them into circles and squares and set them in the centre of a church after the manner of rosettes, surrounding them with frames of interlaced designs of marble mosaics, also cut into regular forms. Many of the churches of Rome were ornamented in this manner, and it represents a considerable effort, for they were spacious basilicas occupying quite a large area. The Roman marble-workers also enriched the churches of the capital and the neighboring regions with furnishings ornamented with gold and bands of brilliant marble mosaics. The candelabrum for the Paschal candle is often a marvelous piece of work (fig. 518). The same is true of their pulpits which rest upon antique columns and have handsome rail-

Fig. 519. — Corner of the cloister of S. John Lateran. Rome.

ings decorated with mosaics and the music-stands for the singers of the choir consisting of eagles with outspread wings. It is true that few churches, and none of these important, were constructed in Rome during this period; but nearly all the existing ones were fitted up with the mosaics of the Cosmati. Near the two great basilicas of S. John Lateran and S. Paolo fuori le Mura, these architects and sculptors also built handsome cloisters with small double columns supporting round arches. Both the columns and the friezes above them were enriched with bands of mosaic and pieces of porphyry surrounded by borders (fig. 519).

The art of these Roman marble-workers spread both to Southern Italy and Northern Europe. Interesting examples of this are the two tombs of Westminster Abbey in London which are decorated in this manner. The epitaphs proudly boast that the marbles with which they are decorated were brought from distant Rome: "de Urbe..."

So far we have considered only churches and religious edifices, and there is little to be said in this connection about the private houses. Even in the city, the residences of the nobility were fortified strongholds where the owner and his followers could retire for safety in these perilous times. During the Romanesque period a square tower was still the last refuge in the home of many an Italian

noble. At San Gimignano near Florence there are still a number of old houses with square brick towers. These are tall and slender and pierced only by small embrasures. In Pisa, too, is the so-called "Street of the Towers." In these congested cities confined by their walls the towers seem like the modern skyscrapers of an American city. In Bologna are two towers leaning in opposite directions which formerly belonged to two palaces which have since disappeared. Dante tells of the effect they produced on foggy days when their summits were hidden in the mist (fig. 520). He could not but be impressed by their inclination; consequently we know that they are

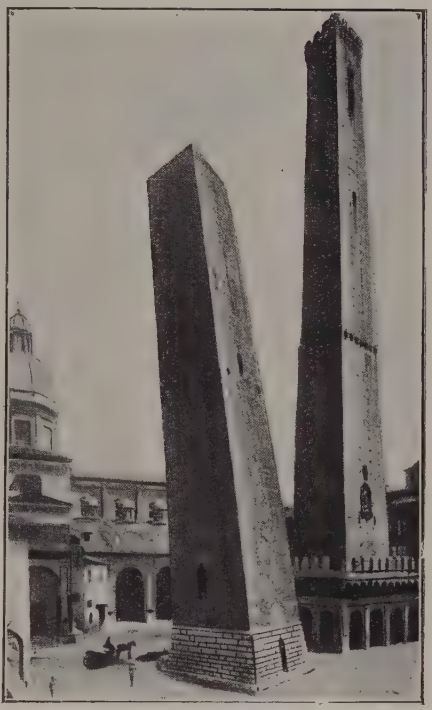


Fig. 520. — Leaning towers. BOLOGNA.

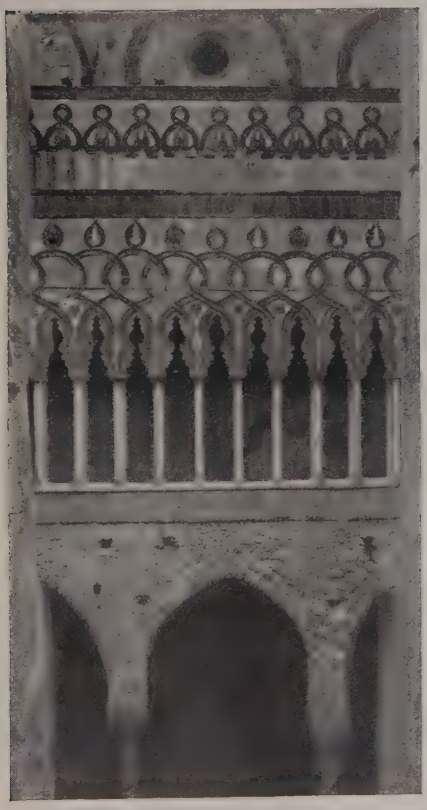


Fig. 521. — Palazzo Rufolo. RAVELLO.

older than the poet's time, and date at least from the Eleventh Century. At Prato in Tuscany is a well preserved feudal castle of the Romanesque period with its tower and great halls covered with flat wooden ceilings. In Southern Italy Oriental influences were still felt, and the court of the Palazzo Rufolo is interesting with its gallery and interlaced arches (fig. 521).

In Sicily the Norman kings built vast structures in this period, but these have been already treated in our discussion of the various schools derived from Byzantine art. The Norman churches of Sicily are similar in construction to the French cathedrals, but they were notwithstanding built by Arab workmen and are characterized chiefly by the Byzantine mosaic decorations with which they are covered.

Fig. 522. — Crypt of the cathedral. OTRANTO.

In the Norman territories of the Italian peninsula Byzantine influences were felt less than in Sicily, and those of the Saracens hardly at all. But they borrowed much from Lombard art which spread to the south along the Adriatic coast. From Bologna and Ravenna, which are almost Lombard cities, it is not far to Ancona, and from Ancona to Bari was but another step. From Bari to Otranto the northern styles spread along the coast down to the very heel of the peninsula. The cathedral of Otranto contains a crypt covered with Lombard vaults (fig. 522), and at Bari, S. Nicola is Lombard both in its construction and in the large arcades over the exterior decorations.

In the doorways of the façades of the great buildings of Southern Italy we see more and more decorative elements. One band of reliefs rises above another in the archivolts with a profusion that is already a prophecy of the baroque style. The doorways of S. Nicola at Bari and of the church of Altamura (figures 523 and 524) give us an idea of the Romanesque decorative style of the south of Italy. In both we find attached columns supported by lions, and the mouldings of the arches project from the wall to accentuate the relief.

One of the finest works of this decorative school is the bishop's throne at Canosa. It is simply carved and is constructed along straight lines. The imperial eagles are carved on the front, and the throne is supported by the exotic figures of elephants copied, no doubt, from some Oriental fabric (fig. 525).

Owing to the relations maintained with the Saracens and Byzantines, we find in Southern Italy in this period a culture superior to that of the rest of the peninsula. During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries the University of Amalfi was the best medical school in Europe. It is not strange, therefore, that we find new surprises every day in the little explored soil of the southern provinces. These discoveries are going far to modify the opinions which have prevailed up to this time concerning the development of the Italian schools of art. It was known that in addition to the decorative sculpture a certain monumental art

also flourished in this region. This was seen in the small reliefs of the ambones, or pulpits, on which we often find carved figures. The pulpit in the cathedral of Salerno, which is late Twelfth Century work, is ornamented at the corners with figures of caryatids of a positive plastic value. On the capitals and springers of the arches are also angels carved in relief which seem to anticipate the Renaissance (figs. 526 and 527). Similar figures are seen on the ambones of Sessa Aurunca and the monastery of Cava dei Tirreno near Naples (fig. 528). The same is true of the compositions of the evangelical scenes on the magnificent Paschal candlestick at Gaeta. (Plate XXXVII, C.) But the masterpiece of Romanesque sculpture in Southern Italy is the marvelous ivory altar in the cathedral of Salerno. This gem is composed of small ivory squares representing scenes from the Book of Genesis and the life of Jesus. (Plate XXXVII, A and B.) The altar has been stupidly reconstructed by means of mortised pieces of wood, and it is difficult to determine what was the original mounting of the ivories. Some of them were also removed from the altar, spoiling the series. It seems likely that this altar at Salerno was the one mentioned by documents as being in the cathedral at the time of its dedication at the end of the Eleventh Century. The scenes, like those of the candlestick at Gaeta, have a life and movement which we do not find in the Byzantine repertory.

Fig. 523. — Doorway of the church of Altamura.

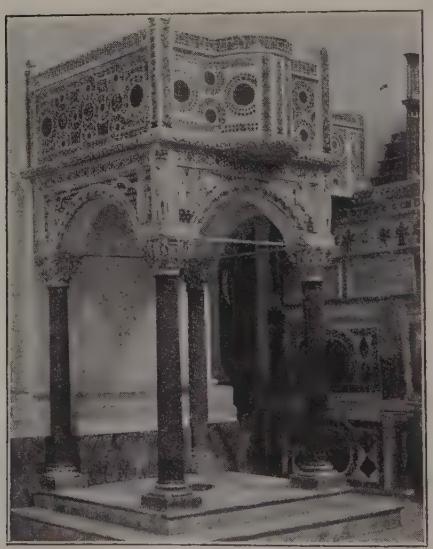
Fig. 524. — Side door of the church of S. Nicola at Bari.

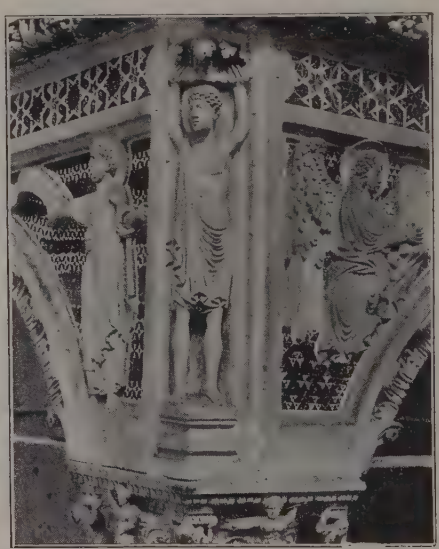
In the scene of the Visitation (Plate XXXVII, A and B) the servant appears as a southern girl who spies on the holy personages from behind a curtain. The anecdotal spirit of Roman

Fig. 525. — Bishop's throne. CANOSA.

art is seen in the group of Herod and the Magi on the same plaque and in the detail of the candelabrum of Gaeta (Plate XXXVII, C) representing the women at the sepulchre. One is crouching and raises the shroud from a Roman sarcophagus which bears the striae characteristic of the Occident.

A school of Romanesque sculpture was forming in Southern Italy which depended little on Byzantine art, but this will be considered in our discussion of Gothic art in Italy, for the southern portion of the peninsula seems to have anticipated this movement. Furthermore, it was from the extreme south of Italy that some of the first artists of the Renaissance came to Tuscany. At least this is true for sculpture. The first Tuscan sculptor, Nicholas of





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Figs. 526 and 527. — Pulpit of the cathedral of Salerno and detail

A

B

C

A. Ivory altar in the cathedral of Salerno. — B. Detail of the altar at Salerno.
C. Detail of the Paschal candlestick at Gaeta.

Pisa, is called Nicholas of Apulia in one of the old documents, and as we shall see later, Apulia in the southeast of the peninsula was the scene of the greatest artistic activity in Southern Italy in the Thirteenth Century.

Interesting works of sculpture were also produced in Northern Italy during the Romanesque period, but they were either much ruder, like the ivories reproduced in figures 529 and 530, or else simply adaptations of Byzantine models like the ivory in the Museum of Bologna (fig. 531) and the famous silver frontal at Città di Castello in Umbria (figure 532) which in some respects recalls the frontal of S. Ambrogio in Milan discussed in Chapter IX. One branch of the general stream of artistic production in Southern Italy took its rise in Byzantine art, but it later became independent and took on an original character of its own. This is the cast bronze-work which we see in the doors of the cathedrals. We have already noted that S. Sophia at Constantinople still retains its old doors cast in squares and panels. There must have been similar doors in the other churches of Constantinople which the rich merchants of Amalfi carried off to put in the cathedral of their own handsome maritime city which played such an important part during this mediaeval period. The same merchants of Amalfi brought Byzantine doors to Monte Cassino, S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome and the sanctuary of the Archangel S. Michele on Monte Gargano.

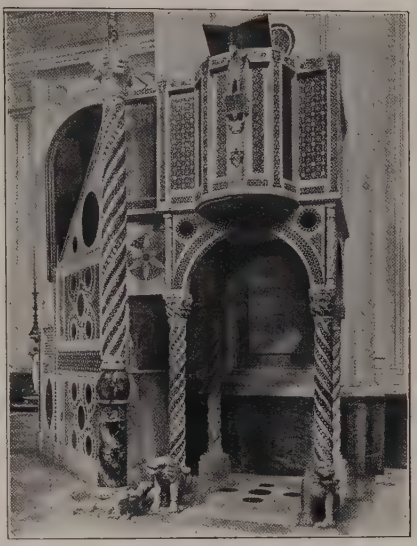

Fig. 528.—Pulpit and Paschal candlestick. CAVA DI TIRRENO

Fig. 529.—Romanesque ivory. *(Museum of Brescia.)*

It was not long before this work began to be imitated in Italy. A certain master named Barisanus of Trani cast the semi-Byzantine doors of Monreale in Sicily (fig. 533) and those of the cathedrals of Trani and Ravello; a Pisan master named Bonannus made other doors for Monreale and for

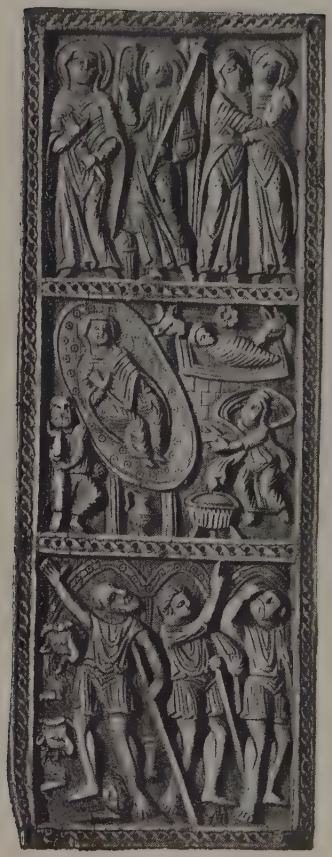

Fig. 530.—Romanesque ivory.
(Museum of Bologna.)

the cathedral of Pisa (fig. 534). The technique of these bronze doors was always the same. Small squares were cast with reliefs of a more or less varied repertory and set in a metal frame. When the doors were so large that the repertory of the artist became exhausted, the same scene was repeated unchanged. They reproduced evangelical scenes derived from the Byzantine iconography or figures of saints and decorative heads of lions, but the inscriptions accompanying them were now in Latin.

Up to a few years ago it was believed that Eleventh and Twelfth Century painting in Italy was influenced solely by Byzantium. There are still in the galleries and museums of the country many icons painted on wood which were either brought from Constantinople or else imitations of the Byzantine types executed by local artists. We have already noted the important part played by the school of Monte Cassino and how the monastery of St. Benedict received the masters who came from Constantinople. But the monks of Monte Cassino founded a school which finally emancipated itself to some extent from the Orient and decorated the churches of the surrounding region with an attempt at naturalness which was another prophecy of the Renaissance. The paintings of Sant'Angelo in Formis, those in the crypt of the cathedral of Anagni and in the monastery of Subiaco are the best examples of this Benedictine school. S. Angelo in Formis on the plain of Capua is composed of a nave and two aisles. Above the arches separating the nave and aisles are walls covered with fresco paintings inspired for the most part by passages of the New Testament. In the crypt of the cathedral of Anagni we find, in addition to the usual subjects of the Romanesque mural painters, strange

Fig. 531.—Romanesque ivory.
(Museum of Bologna.)

Fig. 532. — Silver frontal. *(Città di Castello.)* UMBRIA.

representations of the arts of Hippocrates and Galen showing the interest already awakened by the works of these ancient authors.

This Latin element which we continually find in Italian Romanesque painting must have come down from early Christian times. The confusing thing about it all is that we know so little of the connecting links between the

Fig. 533. — Bronze door by Barisanus of Trani. *(Monreale.)* PALERMO.

Fig. 534. — Detail of the doors of the cathedral of Pisa.

frescoes of the catacombs and these mediaeval Italian paintings which were the precursors of the Renaissance. A few years ago some frescoes were discovered in the monastery of the Volturno which was subordinate to Monte Cassino, and these can be definitely placed in the Eleventh Century (figure 535). They would precede the Romanesque paintings of the Benedictines, but not only are they of little artistic value, but they are so deteriorated that they do not shed much light on the problem. There are also in the lower church of S. Clemente at Rome some frescoes which date from the Romanesque period; others have been discovered in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura as well as those found at Nepi outside of Rome, although the last are also of the Twelfth Century (fig. 536).

Fig. 535. — Mural paintings in the church of the monastery of the Volturno.

There is no doubt that certain themes like that of the Virgin seated upon a throne are common to both Orient and Occident and must have originated in very early Christian times. Others, however, seem to be peculiar to the Occident. Such, for example, were those of the visions of the Apocalypse and of the Last Judgment which were almost unknown in the Byzantine repertory.

Three characteristic examples of Italian Romanesque painting are the frescoes of the Volturno in the south, the handsome well preserved paintings at Nepi and the mosaics of Aosta in the extreme north representing the months of the year.

The Italian miniaturists of this period produced an important series of illustrations on the rolls of the *Exultet*, a Latin canticle for

Fig. 536. — Mural paintings in S. Elias of Nepi.

Fig. 537. — Mosaic of the Months. *(Cathedral of Aosta.)*

Easter, of which many profusely illustrated copies were made. This manuscript was indispensable for the churches of the entire country south of Rome. It has an iconography of its own and abounds in Biblical and theological representations. In the rolls of the *Exultet* we see an art almost free from Byzantine influences which was already preparing the artists of Italy for the great days of the Renaissance.

Summary. — During the Romanesque period the Italians continued for a time to cultivate the art of the Lombard masters, although influenced somewhat by Germanic forms imported from across the Alps. The cathedrals of Modena, Ferrara and Borgo San Donnino and the baptistery of Parma are all examples of this style. In Liguria we soon note the architectural style of Pisa, the first of a well defined character to appear in central Italy. Here is a group of monuments called *delle quattro fabriche* comprising the cathedral, the baptistery, the campanile and the Campo Santo. The cathedral was constructed in the Eleventh Century by an architect named Boschetto and is the most important structure of the group. It consists of a nave and four aisles separated by large monolithic columns like S. Paolo fuori le Mura and an elliptical cupola rising above the crossing. The exterior is handsomely decorated with arches and bands of columns and is enriched with mosaics, all arranged with an art that is extraordinary. At Rome we also find the influence of the Lombard masters in the apse of the church of SS. John and Paul. The same style extended down the Adriatic coast to Otranto. In central Italy particularly we meet with a school of marble-workers and decorators called the Cosmati whose style spread even to Westminster Abbey. Toward the end of the Romanesque period sculpture began to flourish anew in Southern Italy, a movement of consequence, for the first sculptor of the Tuscan Renaissance, Nicholas of Pisa, seems to have come originally from Apulia in Southern Italy. The ivory altar at Salerno is the most important work of this group. Other examples of their art are seen in the ambones, or pulpits, of marble and the great candelabra, or Paschal candlesticks which we find in the cathedrals of Gaeta, Ravello and Amalfi. Italian Romanesque painting, although influenced by the Byzantines, *la maniera greca*, as the Renaissance writers call it, preserves many of the old traditions and types of Occidental Christian art.

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Fig. 538. — Doors of the cathedral of Benevento.

Fig. 539. — Cloister of the monastery at Würzburg.

CHAPTER XIV

ROMANESQUE ART IN GERMANY. — THE NORMAN CHURCHES OF ENGLAND. ROMANESQUE ART IN SCANDINAVIA. — SCULPTURE, PAINTING AND MINOR ARTS.

POLITICALLY the Germanic peoples were in the ascendant in Europe during the Romanesque period. The successors of Charlemagne continued to attempt to reestablish the integrity of the Carolingian Empire, and, aided by their Ghibelline partisans in Italy, they frequently invaded that country. They occupied Rome a number of times, and the Hohenstaufens even installed themselves in the southern portion of the peninsula which they claimed through the Empress Constance, the heiress of the Norman dynasty in Sicily. Saxony, moreover, had been newly converted to Christianity and with all the religious zeal of the neophyte also thirsted for war and adventure with a youthful enthusiasm. Thuringia with its rich silver mines in the Harz furnished abundant resources for important architectural enterprises. So it is hardly surprising to find the emperors taking a personal part in the construction of the great cathedrals along the Rhine and bishops and princes together with their subjects enriching their cities with new churches. Even queens and princesses also participated in the general enthusiasm.

Characteristic of German Romanesque architecture is the persistence with which it adhered to the forms and tastes of the Carolingian period. Every type of Carolingian construction was repeated in Germany, both the concentric plan

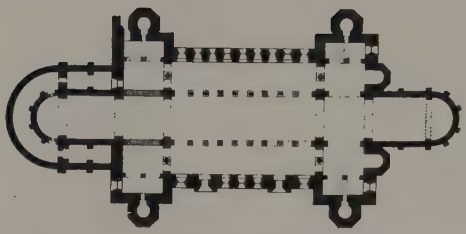

Fig. 540. — Plan of St. Michael's Church. Hildesheim.

as in Germigny and Aix-la-Chapelle, and the basilican form with its columns in imitation of the classical structures. The latter was the more abundant in Germany during the Romanesque period. We find a flat roof of painted timbers and the nave and aisles separated by rows of columns with capitals which were barbarous imitations of antique models. The shafts of the columns were monoliths, as was often the case in ancient times. But the builders, not daring rest the weight of the arches of the dividing walls entirely upon these isolated pillars, set square piers of masonry between them at intervals and depended more upon the strength of the latter than on the cylindrical shafts. Many of the Romanesque cathedrals and monastic churches of Germany have two apses, one at either end of the nave. This was, no doubt, a tradition handed down from Roman times. We find a similar arrangement in the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum, and it persisted during the Carolingian period, as we see from the plan of St. Gall where the church also had two apses facing one another (fig. 286). Sometimes the thick circular wall of the apse contains apsidioles; again we find a number of apses in the crossing, as in the abbey of Königslutter. The peculiarity, however, of two apses facing one another from opposite ends of the building soon obliged the architects to construct transepts corresponding to each in order to make the church symmetrical. When an apse-aisle was added at one end, that apse was finally regarded as the sanctuary and the other was used as a choir.

Fig. 541. — Interior of St. Michael's Church. Hildesheim.

The two most typical examples of these German basilicas of Carolingian tradition are the great churches of St. Michael and St. Godehard in Hildesheim. They were built in different epochs. St. Michael's belongs to the first, the great period of Bishop Bernard who came of an aristocratic family. During his episcopacy this

prelate displayed a taste for art and architecture comparable only to that of Abbot Suger of St. Denis. In the church of St. Michael we find a nave and two aisles separated by columns and square piers, and two apses with transepts in front of each. The building was begun in 1001, but was not consecrated until 1033 (figures 540 and 541). This great church of Bishop Bernard was imitated when the new church of St. Godehard was built in the same city a century later; but one of the apses of the latter is surrounded by a deambulatory like a crown of columns. Both of these churches in Hildesheim are covered with flat roofs in the traditional style with beams and brackets painted polychrome and apses decorated with frescoes. Unfortunately these monuments so typical of German art have been unduly restored in recent years and their present bright colors clash with one another. There are no vaults anywhere except for the apse and in the apse-aisle and certain portions of the aisles.

Fig. 542. — Exterior of the Cathedral of Mainz.

Just as the details of the Carolingian basilica were repeated in Germany during the first part of the Romanesque period, so do we also find another group of churches built on the concentric plan, that is, one which could be inscribed within a square or circle. This is a monumental type and one which is a continuation of those Carolingian churches which were not built on the basilican plan, like the church of Theodulf at Germigny-des-Près and that of Aix-la-Chapelle. Examples of the survival of this type in Germany in Romanesque times are the little church of Schwarzheindorf with its cruciform plan and that of St. Gereon at Cologne. The latter has a dome set upon a ten-sided base recalling that of Minerva Medica.

The most important specimens of German Romanesque architecture are the cathedrals of Spires, Mainz and Worms along the Rhine. The cathedral of Spires was begun by the Emperor Conrad II the 12th July 1030 on the ambitious plan

Fig. 543.—Cathedral of Worms.

which it preserves today. Separating the nave from the aisles are twelve massive pillars on either side which are surmounted by semidetached columns supporting the reinforcing arches of the great barrel-vault of the nave. The crypt, which serves as the burial-place of Conrad and some of his successors, underlies not only the apse but a portion of the floor of the crossing as well. The entire structure was completed in the year 1061. At first it was covered with a wooden roof, but later a stone vault was built under Henry IV. This endured until the wars with the French in the Seventeenth Century when the church was burned, and little now remains of the original upper portion. The exterior is characterized by the great square towers at the ends of the transepts. The walls of the façade are surmounted by galleries which extend round the building like a crown.

The cathedral of Mainz was commenced in the Tenth Century by Archbishop Willigis, but work on the building continued until the end of the Eleventh Century. It has the usual arrangement of two apses opposite one another. Over the crossing is a tall octagonal tower and four more rise at the ends of the aisles producing the most imposing effect imaginable (fig. 542). At the death of Henry IV, to whom its magnificence was really due, a contemporary writer mourned that the Emperor did not live to see it completed as he had seen the cathedral of Spires.

The cathedral of Worms also has two apses and over the crossings are great octagonal lanterns, while at the ends of the aisles are four circular towers. Its consecration must have taken place in 1181, but we find the same arrangement of columns and the same sobriety of decoration as in the cathedrals of Spires and Mainz. We see therefore that the German architects aimed to impress the beholder by the structural complexity of the building as a whole (fig. 543).

The result, nevertheless, is hardly in keeping with their efforts. The profusion of towers produces more or less confusion, and the interior arrangement is hardly a happy one, for the two apses facing one another are symmetrical to a degree of monotony. As these churches have no real façade, the entrance must be on one side. Within, the spectator is bewildered by the double arrangement

of apses and transepts at both ends; either one might be the sanctuary. There is no doubt whatever that the usual plan of the Latin basilica has an aesthetic value superior to that of the German. In the former with its flat façade, a nave with or without transepts and an apse at the further end, one element is disclosed after another to the spectator entering the church, while in the German Romanesque basilica the spectator is suddenly confronted with too many features at the same time.

Fig. 544. — Exterior of the abbey of Laach.

Situate on a picturesque hill beside a lake, the abbey-church of Laach presents the same complicated plan with two choirs and crossings marked on the exterior by high cupolas and towers (fig. 544). This church is, of course, smaller than the great cathedrals of Spires, Worms and Mainz, but it is also surmounted by six towers, two over the crossings and four above the transepts. In front of this church is a beautiful cloister, a sort of atrium, projecting from the eastern apse. These Romanesque cloisters are rather scarce in Germany; besides the one at Laach, we should mention that at Würzburg, its graceful columns ornamented with striae of varied patterns (fig. 539).

Cologne, the holy city of the Rhine, with its multitude of churches, still preserves a number of Romanesque monuments dating from about the year 1000. St. Maria im Capitol presents the most complicated plan of any of the great churches of the Rhine. The choir and transepts end in semicircular apses with a deambulatory around each which give the end of the church a trefoil shape and serve to resist the lateral thrust of the central cupola. Attempts have been made to trace this triapsidal form back to a Roman or Frankish model. Be that as it may, the device was a happy one, and we find the same arrangement of apses in a trefoil imitated in the church of Gross St. Martin and that of the Apostles, where the nave ends in three apses marked on the exterior by adjoining towers. The latter are decorated in the same manner as the apses and produce a picturesque perspective. The frieze and gallery of small arches crowning the outer walls give a certain unity to the diversity of the façades. This curious manner of building found in the country along the Rhine, with all its Carolingian traditions and original features, was to be overcome by the French style of the monks of Cluny which was introduced into Germany by Abbot Poppon of Stavelot, who zealously propagated it from the many powerful abbeys under his direction. From

Fig. 545.—Cathedral of Aquileia.

this time on, the basilicas with flat roofs began to disappear and with them the great monolithic columns and apses facing one another. In their place we find the simpler plans of the reformed monks of Cluny and the Cistercian order.

In some of the lands to the south which afterwards became part of Austria, Italian influences were strongly felt. In the cathedral of Aquileia, although it has more or less a German aspect, we find the arched wooden ceilings (fig. 545) which we have already observed in the cathedral of Ancona. The exterior decoration of friezes composed of small arches and the perpendicular bands so characteristic of the Lombard masters is also present on the façades and towers of the German cathedrals at Spires, Worms and Mainz as well as on the abbey-church of Laach.

We have already noted in our discussion of Celtic art how the spiritual invasion of the Irish monks left its traces in the art of Great Britain. With the Danish invasion a taste was inaugurated for some of the characteristic Germanic barbarian decorative forms. We still find the remains of walls, crypts and isolated arches which recall this period, and these are being investigated by the English student of mediaeval archaeology with the liveliest interest. The earliest stone church to which we find any literary reference is that of Monkwearmouth. It dates from the end of the Seventh Century, and some portions of the original building are still found incorporated in walls of a later date. The church of Bradford-on-Avon, which was built in 705, is preserved almost intact. Its interior is of the simplest stone construction, but the outside is decorated with bands and arches analogous to those of the Merovingian baptistery of St. Jean de Poitiers and the Carolingian church at Lorsch in Germany. It is impossible to enumerate in a manual of this sort all the architectural remains of

the Anglo-Saxons who, without erecting any important monument, have left sufficient fragments of walls and decorations to stimulate a modern archaic English style. As early as the commencement of the Eleventh Century, the English court began to show a taste for Norman-French art and encouraged the immigration of bishops and nobles from the continent to such an extent that serious discontent was aroused among the Saxons.

Fig. 546. — Chapel of St. John in the Tower of London.

This Francophile sentiment reached its height under Edward the Confessor who called on architects from France to build Westminster Abbey. William of Normandy claimed to have been chosen by him as his successor. Consequently the English Romanesque style is called Norman or Anglo-Norman, though it differed somewhat from the pure Norman style of the Continent. Although William the Conqueror was accompanied by feudal lords who were great builders and by a number of architects as well, they all seem to have adopted the architectural styles they already found in England. Thus the chapel of the Tower of London, constructed by William, consists of a nave and two aisles covered with barrel-vaults. Its massive columns have low capitals ornamented only by rude volutes which are somewhat different from those of the more advanced contemporary architecture of Normandy (fig. 546). In the plans of their churches we note the great length of the nave and aisles. Often, too, the apses are rectangular, a feature peculiar to the old Saxon style. As in Germany, the crypt usually occupies the space beneath the apse and crossing and the vault is supported by massive columns which give it an unusually somber appearance. The aisles are separated from the nave by square pillars from which project half-cylindrical columns which seem to have been designed to support the ribs of a groined vault. We find the same thing in Normandy. An inspection of the plans of these Eleventh Century English churches, which at first had wooden roofs, would almost lead one to believe that the architects foresaw that in the course of time a system of vaulting would come into use, although it was as yet untried. Another characteristic feature of the Norman architecture of the English cathedrals is the square pillars with mouldings which sometimes alternate with thick cylindrical columns ornamented with zigzag patterns and spiral striae. Over the crossing rose the large tower which was later to constitute so important an element of the English Gothic cathedral. Often the aisles were two storied with high galleries covered by groined vaults, even though the wider nave continued to retain its wooden roof. The entire decorative scheme was

Fig. 547. — The Galilee Chapel. *(Durham Cathedral.)*

reduced to the geometrical patterns of the Continental Norman style; even the capitals were simple cubical forms with plain mouldings on the abacus and base (fig. 547). The earliest monument in this Anglo-Norman style would be Westminster Abbey. This building was constructed prior to the Conquest by two French architects. The great abbey-church was rebuilt during the Gothic period, and only a few details remain in the present structure to recall the original building raised by Edward the Confessor.

Soon after the occupation of England, the Norman bishops rebuilt Canterbury Cathedral, the seat of the archbishopric, and of their work we still have the crypt, the west choir, the tower and a porch over a stairway (fig. 548). The original church was a Roman building reconstructed in the Tenth Century, but soon after the Conquest it was opportunely destroyed by fire, and probably little regretted by the new rulers of the country. The new bishop had been abbot of St. Etienne de Caen in Normandy before coming to England, and he energetically began to rebuild the cathedral imitating his former abbey-church at Caen. The new Norman cathedral was a basilica with a nave and two aisles. Its plan was very similar to those of the Romanesque churches across the Channel. Although the upper portion of the church has been greatly altered, the large Norman crypt remains intact with its characteristic columns ornamented with spiral striae. (Plate XXXVIII.)

Other large Romanesque cathedrals in the Norman style are those of Winchester and Worcester with magnificent crypts, Durham which was built between 1093 and 1128, Ely, Peterborough, Chichester, and Lichfield. Durham Cathedral is the best preserved of all the great Norman churches of England, having suffered less from later restorations than the others. It retains its old roof, while most of the others are disfigured by Gothic vaults. In the Galilee Chapel on the west end containing the remains of the Venerable Bede are slender composite columns which support gracefully serrated arches (fig. 547). Few buildings of any other type have come down to us from this period, although we might mention the circular churches of Northampton and of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge and the Church of the Temple at London.

A survey of Romanesque art in the Scandinavian countries should begin with Sweden, although this country was evangelized later than Norway which had

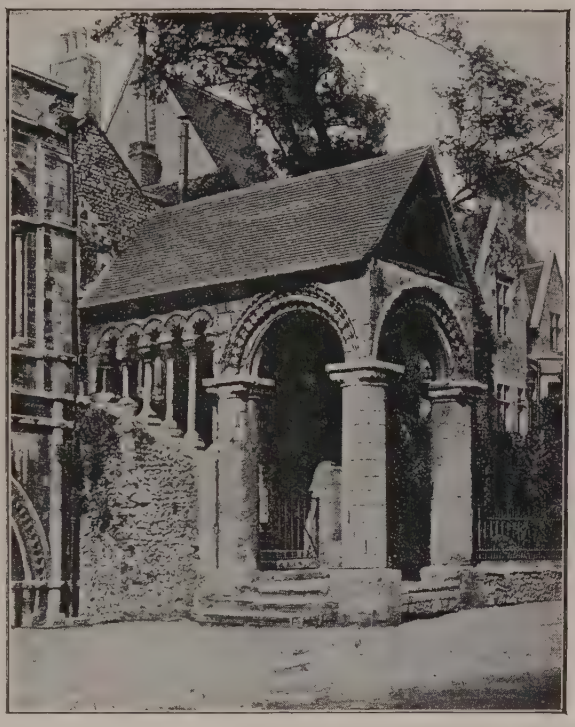

Fig. 548. — Porch and stairway. *(Canterbury Cathedral.)*

already come under the influence of monks from Ireland. But as Sweden depended upon the German Romanesque structures for her architectural style, we find here less originality of form, and a description should follow more or less closely that of the Rhine cathedrals. The most important cathedral in Sweden is that of Lund. Its large apse ends in a rectangle, and the vast crypt underlies almost half its floor-space. On the exterior we find lofty galleries like those of the cathedrals along the Rhine as well as square towers and doorways whose tympana are ornamented with carved monsters and other figures (fig. 549). The cathedral of Upsala is similar in its general arrangement, although its exterior is in the French Gothic style. It is built of brick and has large divided windows after the manner of the German cathedrals. In Denmark there are two cathedrals resembling that of Lund, although they are not so completely Romanesque. These are at Ribe and Viborg. The former with its simple rectangular apse still preserves its Romanesque plan. The latter has a large crypt like the one at Lund. Besides these churches with a basilican plan, there is on the Island of Zealand the church of Kallunborg which seems to be an imitation of the Carolingian concentric type. Its plan is in the form of a Greek cross with a square tower over the centre and four octagonal ones at the ends of the arms. The church of Roskilde, reconstructed in the Thirteenth Century, is still partly Romanesque and partly French in character. As an example of Romanesque civil architecture in Denmark we have the famous castle of Elsinore near the sea. This local art ended with the Cluny reform which imposed churches of the French type on the country with vaults which were a prophecy of the Gothic style about to spread over the whole of Western Europe.

Norwegian architecture has a character all its own. Along the fjords are many handsome wooden churches covered with interlaced patterns and other decorations. It is often difficult to determine their antiquity, for the same style has often persisted down to our own time. It is evident that the decorative

Fig. 549. — Cathedral of Lund. SWEDEN.

motives were imported into the country by the monks of the Irish Church, but the plan and arrangement of the buildings seem to be in imitation of the old Carolingian type of wooden church which, in turn, would be an imitation of the lighter Byzantine structures. The central cupola of stone construction has been replaced here by a large lantern of wood, the columns are trunks of trees covered with sculptures and interlaced patterns and at the end of one of the arms of the cruciform plan is an apse flanked by apsidioles. Round the outside of the church runs a gallery like a low portico, arranged in such a manner that we see three roofs in perspective. The first and lowest is that of the porch, the second, that of the church itself, and the third is the roof of the central tower above which is sometimes a belfry. These roofs have steep slopes because of the heavy snows and are surmounted by curious carved monsters of wood and acroteria such as we see on the pavilions in the Byzantine miniatures. The Byzantine origin of this Scandinavian style derived through the Carolingian art has been further identified by M. Enlart who has made interesting observations in the town of Pelandria high up on Mt. Troödos on the Island of Cyprus. Owing to the altitude, the snow conditions and climate generally are somewhat the same as in Norway, and he found here a number of churches with roofs of this sort ornamented with wooden acroteria which still follow the old Byzantine tradition. But in addition to the concentric plan and the arrangement of the roofs, we find in Norway another important feature peculiar to the country; this is the decoration. The wooden jambs of the doorways are carved in relief with scenes of the Nibelungen legend. Inside, the uprights, benches, pulpits and beams are ornamented with complicated carved designs and monstrous dragons with tails intertwined in all sorts of combinations. They give the appearance of great antiquity; but we have already discussed the persistence of this style, and none of them can possibly be older than the Eleventh Century when Norway was converted to Christianity. The doors of the church of Aal, now in the Museum of Oslo, are the most characteristic architectural remains of this type and probably date from the Twelfth Century (fig. 551).

Besides these wooden structures, there are various churches and other buildings of stone, the most important of which is the cathedral of Trondhjem with its Romanesque transepts and a tower, or lantern, over the centre. St. Mary

A

B

CRYPT OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

A. Transept and crossing. — B. Lady Chapel in the apse.

at Bergen reproduces the same type, and there are also many other buildings of a mixed character with rubble-work masonry pillars in the interior and arches forming two stories. They are surrounded by a wooden gallery like a deambulatory. We find churches of this kind in Denmark and, strangely enough, in Iceland as well, although the latter has no forests. It seems likely that this type of church was used here because the main body of the structure would be of stone. Attempts have long been made to identify the famous building at Newport, Rhode Island, as one of these churches, and indeed it does have something of this appearance. If this really were a Romanesque building, it would of course prove that Danish or Norwegian navigators had visited the New England coast and remained there long enough to build a small stone structure.

Fig. 550. — Church near Oslo, Norway.

Of all the countries of northern and northeastern Europe, only Germany had in addition to its architectural monuments a school of sculpture and, what is more important, a school of painting. Of the monuments of this country we find not only the geometrical ornamentation of the English cathedrals, but also doorways covered with figures of saints and apostles. From the end of the Eleventh Century the German sculptors gradually acquired a power of expression and a considerable skill in the arrangement of folds of drapery. The churches were enriched with monuments commemorating the dead, carved slabs of stone and sculptural decorations on the piers between the aisles. Later, at the beginning of the Twelfth Century, the German sculptors came under the influence of the great schools which grew up in France when the great cathedrals like Chartres were built, and took some part in the vigorous artistic movement which developed

Fig. 551. — Door of the Church of Aal.
(Museum of Oslo.)

Fig. 552.—Lateral door of the Strassburg Cathedral. ALSACE.

in the Gothic period on the other side of the Rhine. But the sculptures of their church portals were as yet Romanesque. The old doorway at Bamberg and the Goldene Pforte of Freiberg are purely Romanesque work. During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries the sculptors of Germany worked not only in marble and other stone, but they also produced some fine cast metal work. At Hildesheim Bishop Bernard had the doors of his church of St. Michael cast with reliefs which were not lacking in value considering the period in which they were made. But the finest examples of the German metal-workers in Romanesque times are the delicately wrought lamps, candlesticks and censers which we find among the treasures of their great cathedrals.

The goldsmiths, too, did marvelous work in gold and silver, particularly the repositories for the relics of the patron saints of the various cities. Especially noteworthy is the so-called Reliquary of the Magi in the cathedral of Cologne. It has the form of a large church with two stories of arches, each arch containing a cast figure (fig. 554). Another handsome casket contains the remains of St. Macrinus in the church of St. Maria on the Schnurgasse in Cologne. A large reliquary, also in the form of a casket, is preserved in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. Besides their cast work, these goldsmiths also did work in repoussé, making reliquaries in the form of a bust or an arm, silver altars and magnificent frontals set with precious stones.

The finest masterpiece of German goldsmith's work of this period is the gold repoussé frontal of the cathedral of Basel. It was carried away by the

Fig. 553.— Statue.
(Cathedral of Strassburg.)

Fig. 554. — Reliquary of the Magi. *(Cathedral of Cologne.)*

French during the wars of the Eighteenth Century and is now in the Cluny Museum at Paris (fig. 555). In its five niches are the figures in low relief of the Saviour with a globe in his hand together with two angels on one side and another angel and St. Benedict on the other. Here Byzantine influences are very evident. The angels bear the *labarum* in one hand while the other is raised, like the archangels of the Greek Church. The presence of St. Benedict is explained by the supposition that this frontal was the gift of the Emperor Henry IV who had been cured of some affliction through the intercession of the Saint. A treatise on the arts of this period called *Schedula diversarum artium* written by a monk named Theophilas has much to say regarding metal-work and gives a number of practical precepts for the manufacture of every sort of object from chalices and candelabra for the churches to spurs and bits for horses. In Germany the art of enameling did not attain the importance during this period that it did in France, for there was no national school of workers in enamel like that of Limoges. In ivory-carving, however, the Carolingian tradition was carried on in their book-covers, chessmen, etc. (Plate XXXIX.)

German Romanesque decorative painting developed into an important art. From the middle of the Eleventh Century, the monks of Reichenau enjoyed a well deserved reputation as decorative painters for more than three generations. Their earliest work is preserved in the Chapel of St. Sylvester at Goldbach and the basilica of Oberzell, both on the Island of Reichenau in Lake Constance. In a painting at Burgfelden the subjects are an allusion to the parable of the

Fig. 555. — Gold frontal from the cathedral of Basel. *(Cluny Museum.)* PARIS.

Good Samaritan. They represent the violent death of two noblemen of Zollern which gives them a certain value as an attempt to portray a historical scene. In this work of the Reichenau school we see also a large composition depicting the Last Judgment which achieves a dramatic effect unknown in the Rhine district up to this time. The relations maintained by the Benedictine monks of Reichenau with the mother-house at Monte Cassino in Italy would explain the evident influence of Italian decorative art and the superiority of their work to the general run of German Romanesque painting.

Another later school of Romanesque painters is that of Cologne. We find its first attempts in the figures of the apostles in the church of St. Ursula, but these artists did their best work in the well preserved figures of the baptistery of St. Gereon in the same city. In Westphalia we find the beginning of a school in the paintings of Idensen and another in the old duchy of Saxony which produced works like the frescoes of the cathedral of Brunswick which date from the middle of the Thirteenth Century. All through Germany the civil and religious monuments of the Romanesque period were decorated with brightly colored frescoes. When they were not large compositions of figures, we find bands of interlaced patterns and borders which followed the curves of the arches and the flat surfaces of the imposts. Some of the wooden ceilings were also decorated, not only the beams but also the panels. There would be small altars like the Byzantine icons; we have examples of work like the altar-piece of the Wiesenkirche of Soest now in the Museum of Berlin.

In the reigns of the Ottos the principal works of German decorative painting were the magnificent miniatures of the manuscripts. These are usually found

Ivory cover of the Echternach Codex.

on the first page and often consist of a portrait of the owner together with numerous miniatures inserted. They are characterized by naturalness of gesture and force of expression rather than by their elegance and beauty. Indeed, the school of Romanesque miniaturists under the Ottos produced the best paintings in Western Europe of this period (fig. 556). The emperors and their great feudatories, the bishops and princes of the court, had travelled to Italy and maintained relations with Byzantium. Moreover, the Carolingian tradition had not been interrupted as in France.

Fig. 556. — German Romanesque miniature.

Some of their manuscripts seem to revive the technique of the classical style. The *scriptorium* of Reichenau, for example, was so famous that Pope Gregory V demanded some of their religious manuscripts in return for certain privileges sought by the abbey.

No English frescoes or painted tablets have come down to us from this period. The Norman buildings, with all their carved geometrical designs, did not have much room left for frescoes. No doubt many of the Norman barons who followed William the Conqueror to England brought with them their books of devotion, Bibles, missals and books of hours. Sculptors and painters would also cross the Channel and be well received by the French nobility who now enjoyed the richness they had taken from the Saxon princes. At any rate, a school of miniaturists grew up in England at that time which endured until the end of the Middle Ages. The style is French; very much so in the Twelfth Century, but less and less in the following centuries. Nevertheless, an English manuscript is always easily distinguished from one made in Normandy or any other part of France. The colors are paler, and we find the yellows and greens which belong to the old Saxon tradition. The drawing, too, is of a more popular character and less refined than in the French manuscripts. In a word, Romanesque miniature-painting in England was a provincial school of that of Normandy, but it possessed a well defined character of its own and was destined to develope independently in the end.

Summary. — The Romanesque architects of Germany solved their problems in a manner which distinguishes them from those of the other European peoples. Their great cathedrals at Spires, Worms and Mainz have at each end of the nave a great apse together with transepts in front of each. Above their roofs rise great cupolas and towers which give them an aspect all their own. In England, after the Norman Conquest we find a school of architecture derived from that of Normandy. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Norman builders preserved certain features belonging to the old Saxon tradition, such as the square apses and some of the decorative elements. The earliest Norman structure in England would be Westminster Abbey, erected in the time of Edward the Confessor, although it was later completely rebuilt. In Canterbury Cathedral we still have the Norman crypt and a number of other remains have come down to us in England from this period, although few of the buildings have been preserved intact as have Durham Cathedral and that of Ely. In the Scandinavian countries we should cite the cathedral of Lund, which is of the German type, and the typical churches of Norway with their mingled Celtic and Carolingian traditions. Some of the latter seem to be more or less in imitation of the old Byzantine wooden structures, so far as we can tell. In sculpture only Germany produced any works of importance during the Romanesque period, such as the doorways of Bamberg and Strassburg. Also in the fields of goldsmith's work and painting, Germany was the only one of the countries of Northern or Central Europe to produce a school of her own during this period.

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Fig. 557. — Miniature of the Huntingfield Psalter. 13th Century.
(Morgan Library.)

Fig. 558. — Cistercian abbey of Casamari. Italy.

CHAPTER XV

MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE OF CLUNY AND THE CISTERCIAN ORDER.
THE LAST PHASE OF ROMANESQUE ART.
GROINED VAULTS OF THE CISTERCIAN BUILDERS.
THE SPREAD OF FRENCH MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE.

The reforms instituted by the French monks of Cluny in the Benedictine Order were to have an important influence upon European art. Up to this time there had been no other bond of union between the different Benedictine monasteries than the precepts of the founder, which were common to all. No central authority existed within the order. The monks of each community elected their own abbot, and none was subordinate to another; the only connection was the common obedience to the rules laid down by St. Benedict. As the Benedictine Order was at this time the only one in the Occident, there did not exist the discipline and religious fervor which was later awakened by the rivalry of the new mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The monasteries, restored through the efforts of Charlemagne, had in the course of time fallen into indolence and indifference in many cases, and a reform was

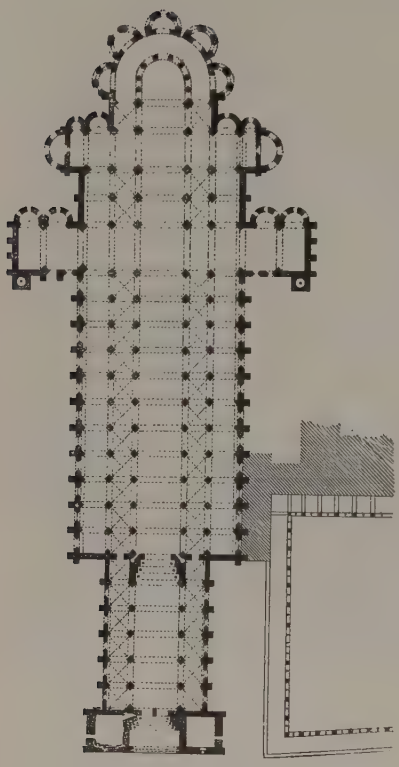

Fig. 559. — Plan of the church of Cluny.

instituted in their rules and practices which was intended to reestablish their old spirit of devotion. It began in the monastery of Cluny, a Benedictine abbey in Burgundy which had been founded during the early part of the Tenth Century, and the most important aim of the plan was to put an end to the independence enjoyed by the various religious communities up to this time by organizing a group or federation of monasteries with a central house which would see to maintain discipline among them all. The reformation was spontaneous. For many years they had seen the necessity of uniting; indeed in 842 the monks of St. Germain, Paris, had joined with those of St. Remigius at Rheims. But it was solely through the efforts of St. Odo and St. Majolus, abbots of Cluny, that the rule of the order took on new vigor and produced an awakening in monastic life comparable in every way to that of the period when the order was founded in the Sixth Century. In this sense Cluny may be considered a new Monte Cassino, for it was here that the Benedictine Order was reborn. This famous abbey had been founded on a wild spot where no traditions of culture existed. Here Duke William of Aquitaine brought a number of monks, giving them a perpetual grant of the land, free of feudal sovereignty or civil authority. Viollet-le-Duc, in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle,* copied the will of the Duke of Aquitaine, giving all due credit to the patron of the monastery from which French art was to spread throughout Europe. Cluny was fortunate enough to begin its career with a series of abbots who were men of unusual ability. It was Odo, the second of these, who established a federation with the monastery of St. Augustine at Pavia, the famous one of Aurillac in Auvergne and that of Romanmourtier in Switzerland. This movement continued until there were twelve houses under his authority. The abbey of Cluny, which had begun the reform, was the head in spite of its having been founded so late, so now we find a league of monasteries subject to the government of one principal abbey. Cluny founded other communities which in turn became the centres of the older Benedictine abbeys located in their neighborhood. The kings and great feudal lords did much to facilitate this movement, for they frequently ceded the Benedictine houses in their jurisdiction either to Cluny direct or to the new abbeys founded by this monastery. Subsequent to this reform the organization spread with extraordi-

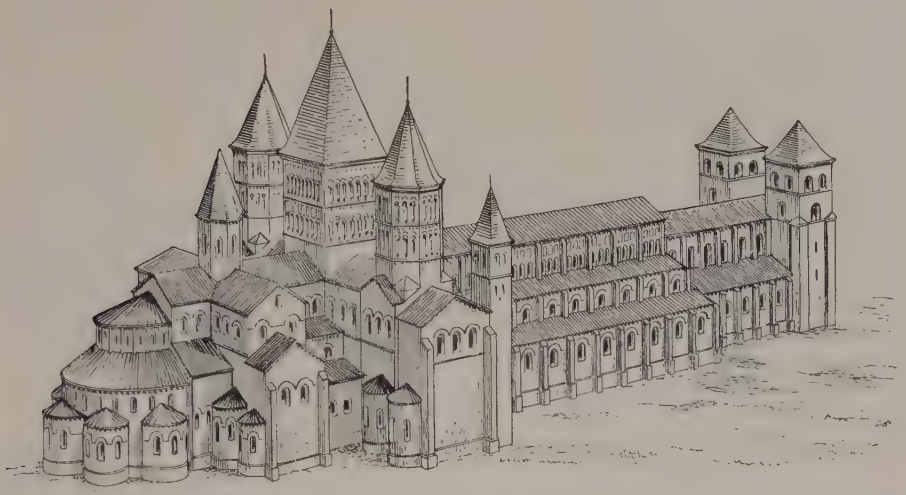

Fig. 560. — Church of Cluny. *(Restored.)*

nary rapidity. For example, most of the monasteries of the County of Barcelona in the Eleventh Century were associated with the Benedictine houses of Southern France and were often under the rule of French abbots appointed by the abbot of the mother-house. The abbey to which they were subject chose the prior of the subordinate monastery, often from among its own monks, who was sent to govern a community frequently in rebellion to the reform. It became the duty of this prior to infuse the monks under him with the spirit of the French reformed monasteries. So, too did many of the Cluny monks become bishops. In the reign of Alfonso VI of Castile, the French queen arrived accompanied by French monks from Cluny who came to occupy the most important ecclesiastical posts of the kingdom. This resulted in great enthusiasm for everything French during the last years of the Romanesque period.

It was not strange, therefore, that when the abbey church of Cluny was rebuilt, the unlimited resources at the disposal of the order were such that it became the greatest church of Western Christendom. It was even larger than the basilicas of the apostles at Rome. The small original church founded by Duke William was rebuilt on an enormous scale in 1089 (figs. 559 and 560). There is a legend that the Apostle Paul appeared to Gauzo, the monk in charge of the work, and gave him the plans. Indeed, it was believed that these were too remarkable to have been drawn without supernatural aid. The church had an extremely long vestibule, or narthex, which contained a nave and two aisles and was as large as a good sized church itself. From this portion of the structure a doorway opened on the basilica proper which was composed of a nave and four aisles, double transepts and a great choir at the further end. The two pairs of transepts and the choir were equipped with semicircular chapels like apses and the choir was surrounded by a deambulatory. Over the further of the two crossings rose a fine octagonal cupola and above the nearer one was a large

Fig. 561. — Windows of the chapter-house. Fossanova.

well lighted tower, or lantern. On either side of the door of the great vestibule was a large square belfry with a pointed roof. One contained the archives of the abbey, and the other was the monastery prison. The vast nave flanked by two aisles on either side was covered with a barrel-vault. A somewhat vague description of the sculptures embellishing the entrance has come down to us. The elders of the Apocalypse were represented on the lintel, and a figure of Christ giving his blessing and accompanied by the four Evangelists was on the tympanum. On one side of the church was the cloister around which lay the refectory, kitchen, store-houses and libraries. The two abbot's houses were somewhat apart. We know that the walls of the refectory were painted with scenes from the Old and New Testament together with portraits of the abbots and benefactors of the house. At the further end was the Last Judgment. All the buildings, orchards and gardens were surrounded by a massive wall, and another fortification protected the little town of Cluny which lay upon the slope of a near-by hill.

The great abbey remained intact down to the time of the French Revolution, but little now remains of either church or monastery, only a portion of one of the transepts surmounted by a ruined tower. The arches are already pointed, and the capitals which are left are lavishly decorated with leaves and animals.

Although so little has come down to us of the great buildings of Cluny, the subordinate abbey of Vézelay, also in Burgundy, has survived almost in its original state. Here is a great church with a long vestibule and a deambulatory about the apse. It may well be a copy of the Cluny church on a smaller scale. Vézelay was also a rich abbey frequented by pilgrims from every land, the sculptures of whose portal have already been discussed in the chapter on French Romanesque art. We also find the Last Judgment on the lintel and Christ with the four Evangelists on the semicircular tympanum of the doorway. Besides the nave there are but two aisles, but the richly decorated capitals and imposts are the same as in all the architecture of the monks of Cluny. The springers of the vaults are animated with handsome bands of interwoven patterns of vines, and the thickly clustered figures on the capitals are enclosed by fanciful spirals of grapevine tendrils or conventionalized ivy. Over the doorways of the monuments of the Cluny school are various archivolts, and we see everywhere the same fanciful little animals in the greatest profusion; birds pursuing one another, lions, centaurs and stags with antlers ending in a spiral plant-form. The cylindrical walls of the apses are divided by columns, both inside and out, and the capitals and imposts display the same decorative motives. These sculptures and

TINTERN ABBEY, south side; Gloucestershire, England,
near river Wye, founded for Cistercians in 1131. Ruins purchased for the nation in 1900.

PHOTOS W. F. MANSELL

FOUNTAINS ABBEY: Cistercian monastery, near Ripon, Yorkshire, England;
founded in the 12th Century by Thurston, Archbishop of York.

reliefs are very characteristic of the Cluny style, but the architecture of Burgundy has certain structural peculiarities which were developed by the monks of Cluny in such a manner that they seem to anticipate some of the solutions of the Gothic period which was to follow.

Fig. 562. — Interior of the abbey church of Fossanova. Italy.

The decorative style of the friezes, with their little sculptures of birds, men and animals pursuing one another among the curls and spirals of grapevines, was applied not only to architecture, but also to the smaller articles of luxury, furniture and goldsmith's work. From France it spread all over Europe, but it is not surprising that before long a reaction began which restored the modesty traditional with the Benedictine Order. The Cluny reform, it is true, was solely in response to a desire to safeguard morality and establish a hierarchy among the abbeys hitherto independent; but this centralization resulted in enriching the order to such an extent that another reformation became necessary. This second reform emanated from the monastery of Cistercium (Citeaux), also in Burgundy, and was due to the initiative of St. Bernard, who like Peter the Hermit was a preacher of the Crusades. This community at Cistercium was not a new establishment like that of Cluny. Already in the Eleventh Century three monks from Molême, who had vainly tried to reform their own community, went to Lyons and with four others petitioned the bishop to grant them a place where they might put into strict practice the precepts of St. Benedict. Finally twenty-one monks established themselves in the wilderness of Cistercium in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Saône. These Cistercians, as they were called, lived by the work of their own hands, and in order not to become wealthy like the Cluny monasteries, they refused all donations.

The community remained unimportant until St. Bernard and his companions took refuge in its solitude, but from this time on we find a new spiritual militia fighting to hold what Cluny had won a century before. From the swampy forest

Fig. 563. — Cistercian abbey church of St. Galgano. Tuscany.

where the first monks of Molême had built their cabins and lived as poor agriculturists, more than sixty thousand monks were to spread over Europe in the course of a few years and establish new communities in Italy, Spain and Central Europe. The spirit of this new order may be interpreted as a protest against the wealth of the Benedictine monks of Cluny. In his writings St. Bernard condemns the profuse sculptures adorning the monasteries of the Cluny monks. "Of what use," he asks, "is this foliage with its thousands of monsters, those figures of centaurs and satyrs, those mouldings with their wild animals and other ornaments which distract the mind of the monk from his piety and turn him from the evangelical poverty enjoined by St. Benedict?" So we can readily understand that unlike the Cluny monasteries, those of the Cistercians would be built in a severe style with little sculptural ornamentation, and would possess only the structural features and mouldings necessary to separate the various parts of the building.

In a general way, however, the plans of the Cistercian monasteries did not differ greatly from those of the Cluny monks. They continued to hold more or less to the arrangement which we find in the plan of St. Gall. The great abbey of Clairvaux, founded by St. Bernard himself and containing the cell of the Saint and many objects connected with him, was in a large walled enclosure. Here the various dependencies were grouped, but the nucleus, or monastery proper, differed little from the older Benedictine abbeys. It had a central cloister with the church on the side, the chapter-house on the other, the refectory on a third side and the buildings connected with the farms on the fourth.

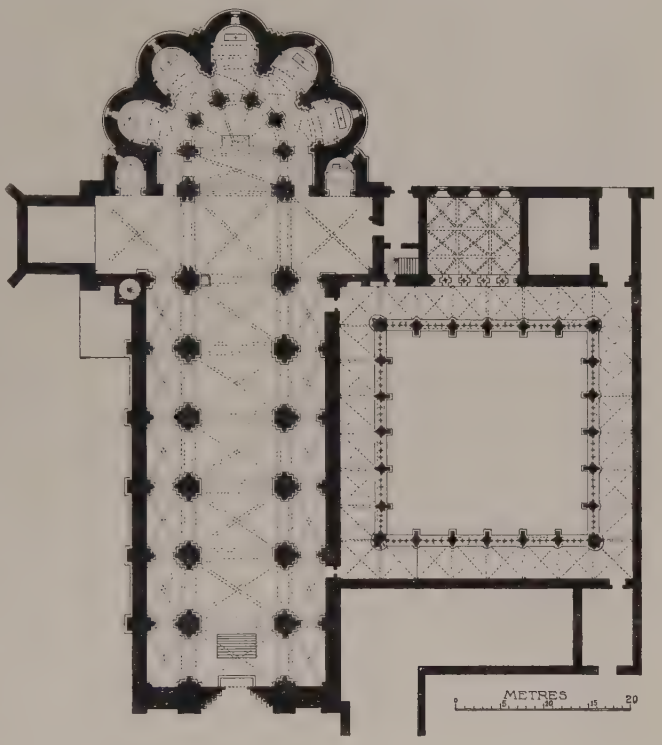

Fig. 564. — Plan of the church of Veruela. ARAGON.

Beyond this monumental assemblage of buildings were two other cloisters, ovens, flour mills, oil-presses, the hospice and the abbot's house, as well as a number of structures intended for oratories and the quarters of the laborers and farm-hands attached to the monastery. All the Cistercian abbeys were similar in plan and dimensions, having the same religious and industrial needs. It was not long before more than two thousand Cistercian monasteries and nunneries existed in Europe, and the new Benedictine spirit, restored by St. Bernard, spread over Spain, Italy, Central Europe and even Poland and Scandinavia. Thus we have first Cluny and later the Cistercian monks extending the principles of Burgundian architecture over the entire Occident and preparing the way for the introduction of Gothic architecture which was to come later. Both reforms commenced in Burgundy, and both utilized the architecture of the Burgundian school of Romanesque art, one of the most advanced in all France, with its lofty pointed arches and its tentative employment of the ribbed vault.

But the Cistercian monuments lacked the complicated ornamentation of the sculptural decorations of the Cluny school, and the result was that the monks confined their attention to the structural problems. The constitution of the Cistercian Order was established definitely in 1119 in an assembly which was called the general chapter. It was headed by St. Bernard and ten other abbots of the order, and in this council it was agreed that their abbey churches should be constructed in the simplest style without sculptures or paintings of any sort. The panes of the windows should be of white glass only, and the towers and belfries should not be unduly high. The churches of the Cistercian monasteries were to be dedicated to the Mother of God in order to avoid the danger of falling into some fanciful cult like that of the supposed relics of Mary Magdalene at Vézelay. To prevent any confusion regarding the property of the order, none

Fig. 565. — Interior of the monastic church of Veruela. ARAGON.

of its flocks or herds were to be taken more than a day's journey from the farm buildings, and no two Cistercian convents were to be less than two Burgundian leagues apart. "Our abbeys shall not be constructed close to cities, villas or castles, but in places remote from where men pass... In the monasteries there shall be neither sculptures nor paintings; only simple wooden crosses... The doors of the churches shall be painted white... The legends on the walls shall be painted in but one color and the letters without ornamentation... There shall not be towers of stone for the belfries nor shall those of wood be too high." From the very text of the decree we can see that the modifications of their buildings materially change the aspect of the church. They lack the great belfries of the Benedictine abbeys of the Cluny monks, and as they had no sculptured decorations, the reenforcing arches of the vaults rested upon columns, either without capitals or with modest leaves or shoots. Neither in the doorways nor in the apses do we find the reliefs of vine-tendrils and the little figures which were so typical of Cluny architecture. The Cistercian buildings are distinguished by their great simplicity and would be of little artistic interest if it were not for their great vaults which seem to anticipate the daring achievements of Gothic architecture.

Fig. 566. — Chapter-house of the monastic church of Veruela.

In a Cistercian monastery the church is the most important structure; the size of its vaults demanded a skill and knowledge of architecture not required in the other buildings of the abbey. Curman's investigations have shown that the plans of the Cistercian churches may be classified according to

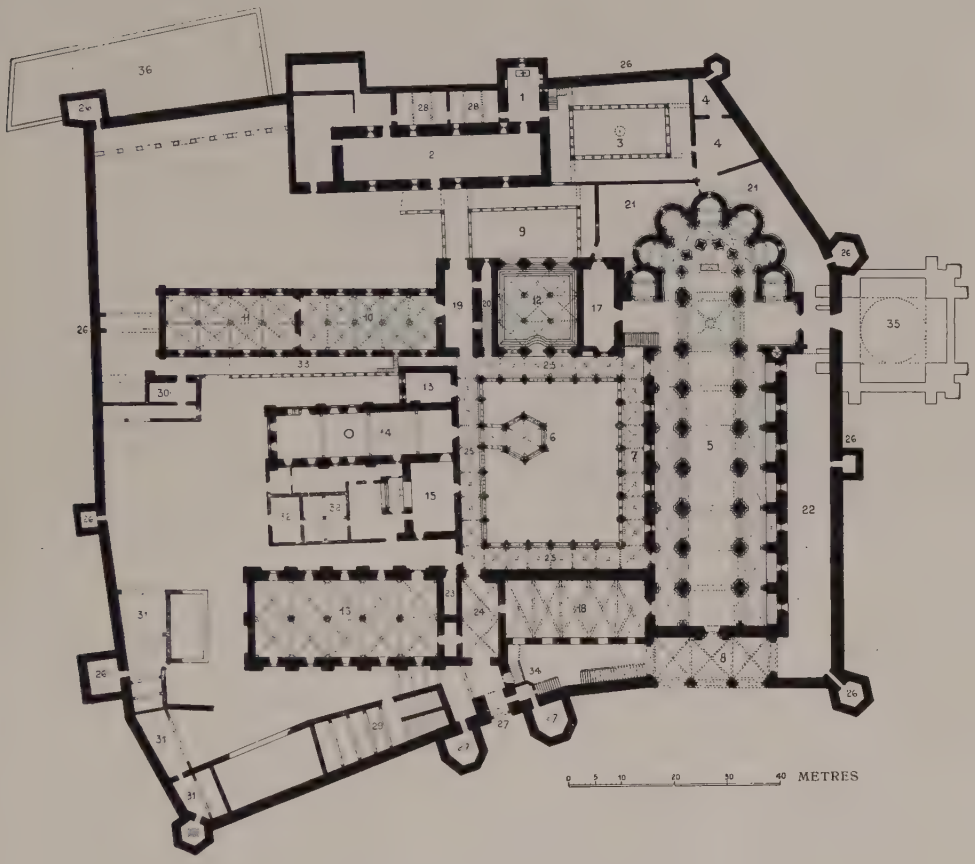

Fig. 567. — Plan of a typical Cistercian monastery. *Poblet.* Catalònia.

12th Century. — 1. Chapel of St. Stephen. — 2. Large hall. This may have been the dormitory originally, but later it formed part of the royal apartments. — 3. Cloister of St. Stephen (as it was before the restoration of Don Fernando de Antequera). — 4. Ruined dependencies, unclassified. — 5. Main church (begun at the end of the 12th Century and continued in the 13th). — 6. Small hexagonal building containing the piscina. — 7. South wing of the main cloister.

13th Century. — 8. Narthex. — 9. Cloisters of the locutory (before Don Fernando changed the double columns for pillars). — 10. Library of Don Juan de Aragón. — 11. Old library. — 12. Chapter-house. — 13. Calefactory and barber-shop. — 14. Refectory. — 15. Kitchen. — 16. Originally the lay-brothers' refectory; later the wine-cellar. — 17. The old sacristy. — 18. Wine-presses (possibly the old lay-brothers' dormitory). — 19. Antechamber of the libraries and locutory. — 20. Stairway leading to the archives and treasury on the main floor. — 21. The monastery cemetery. — 22. Lay-brothers' cemetery. — 23. Stairway. — 24. Vestibule. — 25. Galleries N., E. and W. of cloister.

14th Century. — 26. Battlemented walls and high towers, built by Pedro IV of Aragon. — 27. Royal gateway, built by Pedro IV. — 28. Royal apartments. — 29. Granaries and bakery. — 30. Quarters bearing the shield of Abbot Copons. — 31. Ruined dependencies; use unknown.

15th Century. — 32. Pantry. — 33. Cloistered gallery for novices. — 34. Monumental double stairway leading to the royal apartments of King Martin I.

Renaissance. — 35. Modern sacristy. — 36. — Quarters of superannuated monks.

Fig. 568. — Interior of the church of Poblet. CATALONIA.

two main types, both derived from the churches of the Cluny order. In the first class we find the semicircular apse with an apse-aisle and chapels as in the churches of Poblet and Veruela in Spain and that of the monastery of St. Bernard at Clairvaux. If we compare the plan of the church of Cluny (fig. 559) with that of Veruela (fig. 564), it will be seen that the arrangement is essentially the same. The Cistercians merely reduced and simplified the great monumental church of Cluny, constructing one with a nave and only two aisles. In the other class we find a rectangular apse as in the original Cistercian abbey in Burgundy, the monastery of Santas Creus in Spain and almost all the churches of this order in Italy, such as Fossanova, Casamari and S. Galgano. We know the origin of this type, and it has antecedents in some of the Cluny monasteries, so there is every indication that these two reforms applied to art as well as to the social conditions and the policy of the communities and that the Cistercians took advantage of the artistic traditions and structural technique of the Cluny monks. The nave and two aisles were arranged in such a manner as to call for groined vaults, particularly the aisles, as we see in the church of Poblet (fig. 568), the nave of which retains the old barrel-vaulted form. At Veruela the nave is covered with groined and ribbed vaults (fig. 565), and the same is true of the naves of the Cistercian churches of Fossanova, Casamari and S. Galgano (fig. 563). In the churches where the apse is semicircular the small trapezoidal surfaces of the vaults in front of the chapels are also groined, so every portion of a Cistercian church like that of Veruela is divided into sections crossed by diagonal ribs such as we see in the Gothic cathedrals of a later period. What, then, is the essential distinction between a Cistercian church and one in the Gothic style? It is only the lack of the buttresses which resist the lateral thrust of the vaults. In a Gothic church the weight of the vaults is centered on certain portions of the walls, where exterior arches exert a contrary pressure against that of the arches of the vaults inside. In the Cistercian churches we scarcely find these buttresses; they are entirely lacking at Poblet and are merely pilasters at Veruela.

We shall now observe the tendency of this style to extend, as the Cistercian monasteries began to spread over Europe following their predecessors of Cluny. The first Cistercian monastery in Central Italy was that of Fossanova

on the road from Rome to Naples near Terracina (figs. 561 and 562), founded by the French monks of Haute-Combe. It is famous as the place where St. Thomas Aquinas died while on his way to attend the Council of Lyons.

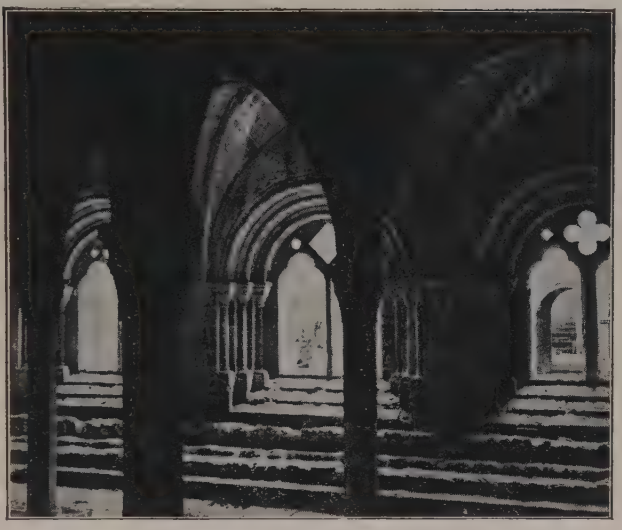

Fig. 569. — Chapter-house of Poblet.

Subject to Fossanova were Casamari (fig. 558), a still larger Cistercian abbey, and all those of Central Italy which were colonized by the reformed Benedictine order. Here they introduced the principles of French architecture which were later to produce the Gothic cathedrals of the mixed style like those of Siena and Orvieto. Subject to the abbey of Casamari was that of S. Galgano in Tuscany (fig. 563) which was founded by French monks from Clairvaux. S. Galgano was the centre from which the French technique of the Burgundian vault spread through that part of Italy which was to see the beginning of the Renaissance. In every way the great structures of pure Cistercian style in Italy, like Fossanova, Casamari and S. Galgano, differed little from those which were being constructed in France and Spain during the same period. In these churches we find a nave and two aisles and doorways with archivolts decorated only with plain mouldings (fig. 558). In the interior are pillars of the simplest kind and semidetached columns supporting the reënforcing arches. Outside, the only cheerful feature is the octagonal tower of the cupola which can be seen from a distance. The rules of St. Benedict were carried out literally, and a spirit of austerity ruled in these Cistercian abbeys surrounded by their granaries and farms. "The monasteries," says the Constitution, "shall be established, so far as possible, where there will be water for the mill and gardens, that it may not be necessary for the monks to wander about outside... Twelve monks, together with the abbot, shall go out of the old abbey to found a new one, taking with them only the necessary books, the missal, rules, book of usages, psalter, hymnal, lesson book of the matins, antiphonal and gradual. In the new house they shall install an oratory, refectory, dormitory, hospice and porter's gate."

Here we have prescribed the necessary elements of a Cistercian monastery, and they were arranged about a cloister. As each house depended upon another which had either founded it or adopted it, there was little difference in their practices. In the new community the monks made the same arrangements and

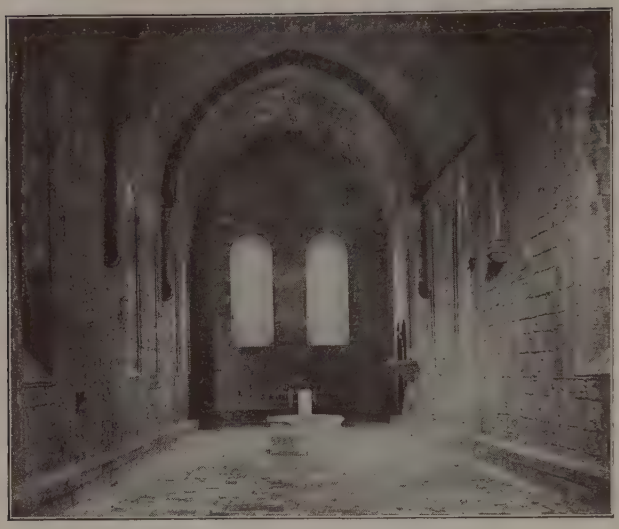

Fig. 570. — Refectory of Poblet.

carried out the same forms as in the mother-house, and, as usually occurs in the field of art, the continued repetition of a fixed type led to its perfection. Also, without intending anything new, a considerable change was already in process. If we compare the interiors of the two Italian Cistercian churches of Fossanova and S. Galgano (figs. 562-563), it will be seen that only slight differences exist in the arrangement of their various elements. Cross-sections of the columns would be almost identical, the mouldings are the same, and the other features are very similar. The chapter-house is rectangular and is divided into nine sections, covered by vaults supported by four pillars in the centre and the walls of the hall (figs. 566 and 569). The refectory is the same in both, a rectangular hall with a tribune for the reader and a fountain in the centre (fig. 570).

The churches of Poblet and Veruela in Spain are built on almost the same plan, which is not surprising when we remember that both were constructed by French monks (figs. 564 and 567). Those who established Veruela came from the church of Scala Dei in Gascony and the founders of Poblet from Fontfroide in Provence. Both are repetitions of the type of church of the mother-house at Clairvaux.

In addition to these two, there are a number of other Cistercian monasteries in Spain. In Catalonia there are Santas Creus founded in 1174 and Vallbona de las Monjas; in Navarre, Oliva; in Leon, Moreruela established by monks from Clairvaux; in Castile, Las Huelgas; and in Portugal, the monastery of Alcobaça, also a direct offshoot of Clairvaux.

By the middle of the Fourteenth Century there were some seven hundred Cistercian foundations, located principally in France, the Empire and England, but also to be encountered on such remote edges of the Christian world of that day as Norway and Sweden. The Cistercians spread very early to England, where they first settled at Waverly Abbey in Surrey. In the century following the introduction of the Order into England no fewer than a hundred houses were founded, seventy-five for men and twenty-five for women. After that, the ardor for the Cistercians seems to have declined, for only one new foundation is recorded between the middle of the Thirteenth Century and the Reformation. Following the policies of the fouuders of their order, the English Cistercians

chose deserted sites for the most part. They showed an especial fondness for the banks of the rivers of Yorkshire. The most famous Cistercian houses were Woburn, Tintern, Byland, Fountains and Rievaulx. They were all dissolved at the time of Reformation, but their remains show that they differed in no way from the continental models.

Fig. 571. — Fountain and cloister of Poblet.

Every Cistercian monastery became a centre for the spread of the principles of the Burgundian semi-Gothic vault with its ribs and pointed reenforcing arches. It is very possible that the beginnings of this system of construction had a very modest origin, and that the first attempts were made on a much smaller scale in rural churches. The Cistercians, however, with their program of constructing large edifices without decoration, were almost forced to take advantage of the ribbed vault and reenforcing arches, if they were to build on a monumental scale. In some cases, it is true, the nave is still covered with a semicylindrical barrel-vault, but the aisles are almost always covered with ribbed vaulting.

The lay architects of the Gothic churches learned much of their technique from the Cistercian monks, so the origin of the magnificent Gothic cathedrals is robbed of its mystery.

The Cistercian monuments are the connecting link between the Romanesque church with its barrel-vault and the Gothic church with its light vaults held aloft by buttresses. We know that the Italian cathedrals are derived from Cistercian abbeys; that of Siena was built by monks from S. Galgano. In Spain the Cistercians must have had a part in directing the work of the transition cathedrals, such as those of Tarragona and Lérida. The cloister of the cathedral of Tarragona is precisely the same as that of the monastery of Fontfroide. In France, too, we have further interesting information in regard to the influence of the Cistercian monks on the lay architects of the cathedrals. In the Thirteenth Century the French architect, Villard de Honnecourt, was a pupil of the Cistercians. An album of his plans and sketches is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and here we find the plans of two Cistercian churches. One of these is accompanied by the following note: *Vesci une glize desquarie ki fu esgardee a faire en lordene d'cistiaux* (fig. 572). This plan has a rectangular apse, but the other church copied in the album of Villard de Honnecourt has a semicircular apse and chapels as at Clairvaux.

Summary. — The reforms of Cluny and of the Cistercian monks restored to the Benedictine Order its old zeal and glory. These two reforms followed one another in the Eleventh Century in Burgundy and exerted an influence on art which was felt throughout Europe. The old Benedictine monasteries were placed under the rule of those of France, and French monks were invited by the rulers of the various countries to come and establish the discipline of the reformed order. The Romanesque architects of Burgundy were noted for their vault construction; earlier than any other French school, they had begun to construct the groined vault. In the great Cistercian churches we find this system of vaulting employed, first in the aisles, as in the church of Poblet where a barrel-vault was retained in the nave. Later the nave itself was divided into rectangular bays with reenforcing arches and ribs. The only essential difference between a Cistercian church and a Gothic cathedral is that the former lacks the exterior buttresses which resist the lateral thrust of the vaults covering the interior. There is no doubt that the lay architects of the cathedrals learned much from the Cistercian builders. We know that the monks of S. Galgano directed the work on the cathedral of Siena, and we recognize their influence in the cathedrals of the transition period, as in that of Tarragona. A Thirteenth Century French architect, who was a pupil of the Cistercians, has left copies of the two types of their churches, one with a rectangular apse and the other with a semicircular one.

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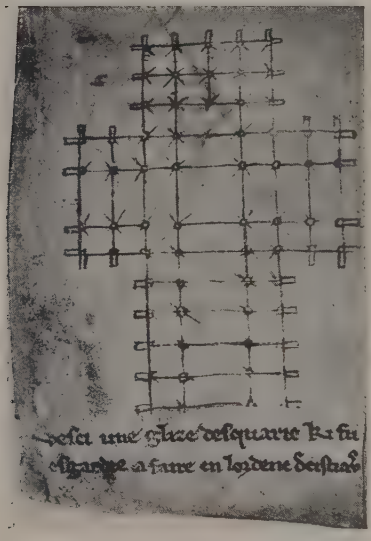


Fig. 572. — Cistercian church with rectangular apse.
(Album of Villard de Honnecourt. Bibliothèque Nationale.) Paris.

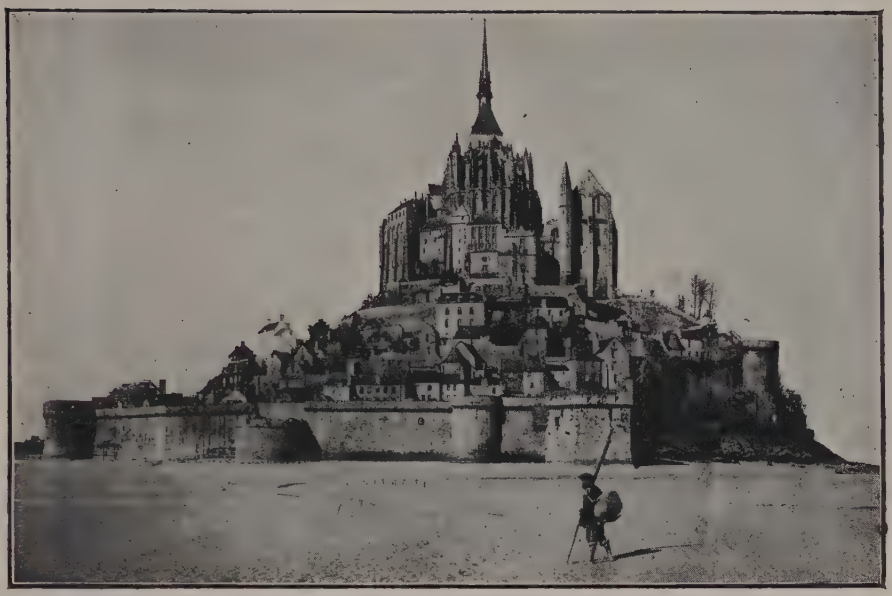


Fig. 573. — Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. Normandy.

CHAPTER XVI

ORIGIN OF THE GOTHIC STYLE. — CHARACTER OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE. FRENCH CATHEDRALS OF THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES. — CIVIL ARCHITECTURE. GOTHIC SCULPTURE AND PAINTING IN FRANCE. — MINOR ARTS.

The terms Gothic style, Gothic architecture and Gothic art, are due to the unfortunate confusion which existed in the minds of the writers of the Renaissance. The popularization of this ill-advised adjective, which is quite unrelated to either the character or the origin of the style in question, is due to Giorgio Vasari, a Florentine writer on art who was also a pupil of Michelangelo. When he published his biographies of the Italian painters, he began the book with a number of short chapters covering the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture. Discussing the monuments of the Middle Ages, he tells us that they were built in a style which had originated in Germany and was the invention of the Goths; consequently, it should be called Gothic. He goes on to state that it was extremely poor compared with ancient classical art and was nothing more than a confused agglomeration of pinnacles, pilasters, spires and leaves, all set up without any orderly arrangement and entirely lacking in the sense of proportion which constituted the perfection of those Greek styles known as the classical orders. This paragraph of Vasari was widely quoted, and, strangely enough, the dictum of the Florentine writer continued to be generally accepted until almost the middle of the last century. It was the Romanticists, particularly

Fig. 574. — Thrusts of a Gothic church.

Chateaubriand in his *Génie du Christianisme* and Victor Hugo in *Notre Dame de Paris,* who became the apologists for the cathedrals and for the Gothic style generally, recognizing them as the apotheosis of the religious spirit of the Middle Ages. Soon protests were not lacking against the term Gothic art, and an attempt was made to substitute for it the word ogival. The word pointed is also employed in connection with the architecture of this period. Discussions arose concerning the origin of the admirable forms of the Gothic porches and vaults and of the magnificent structural system of the great churches with their skilful combination of thrust and counter-thrust. According to some, the pointed style had been imported from the Orient, where it had been invented in imitation of the aisles between the rows of palm trees of the desert groves. Others, to whom Gothic architecture was a barbarity, believed that it had originated in Germany, whence it passed over to France and then spread over the whole of Europe. The ogival or pointed arch, it was asserted, had the form of the egg of Isis. Some sought for Christian symbols in it; the vault stood for the ship

Fig. 575. — Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. Men's hall.

of St. Peter; the pillars, the twelve apostles, the cruciform plan, an allusion to Christ crucified; and devout writers sought by means of texts and comparisons to find many other subtile and finely drawn symbols. Finally a number of careful investigators began to see things in their proper relationship. Caumont, the president of the Archaeological Association of Normandy, Quicherat, Viollet-le-Duc, de Verneuil, de Lasteyrie and Enlart in our own time have worked out the origin of the Gothic forms and established a criterion of the value of these admirable monuments of mediaeval France. It is now generally recognized that the Gothic style was no mystical and literary creation, but a natural development of the forms and models of the various local Romanesque schools, particularly those perfected in Burgundy and disseminated by the Cluniac and Cistercian monks. Nevertheless, it was not in Burgundy that the French Gothic style reached its highest development, but rather in Normandy and the Ile-de-France, that portion of the country about Paris which was most completely under royal control. From these centres it seems to have spread rapidly over the various provinces of France; by the middle of the Thirteenth Century we find it generally adopted in Germany and already being introduced into Spain. This style can be considered to have been definitely formed by the end of the Twelfth Century, although we find some of the Gothic solutions of architectural problems prior to that time. There was an interesting collateral development in England.

Fig. 576. — Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel. Refectory.

The essential characteristics of the Gothic style are the pointed, or ogival, groined vault (hence the name) and a new taste in mouldings and other orna-

Fig. 577. — Flying buttresses. *(Cathedral of Laon).*

mentation. The Gothic style had no monopoly of the groined vault, it is true. It had been widely used in the Romanesque period and was traditional in the ancient classical structures. But in the Romanesque style, the groined vault is composed of elliptical diagonal arches, and the transverse and reënforcing arches are semicircular or only slightly pointed. While in the Gothic, the diagonal arches become semicircular and the transverse arches decidedly pointed. It might be well to examine more closely the difference between the Roman groined vault and the Gothic ribbed vault. To cover a rectangular area, the Romans sometimes adopted a system of throwing diagonal round arches from corner to corner and filling in the intermediate spaces with masses of concrete which solidified in the form of a vault. In the Middle Ages and in the Gothic style, the diagonal arches are really independent and have an elasticity of their own. Upon them rest the stone blocks of which the vault itself is composed. These diagonal arches, therefore, play the same part as the wooden frame upon which an arch is constructed. The vault also has an elasticity of its own and the weight and lateral thrust come at the corners (fig. 574). These arches, therefore, are the only ones which require strong supports, for upon them rests the entire weight of the vault. The ribs of these arches unite in the perpendicular column like branches in the trunk of a tree (figs. 575 and 576). Moreover, the Roman groined vault was adapted principally to the covering of a rectangular area, while the Gothic vault could be used to cover one of any shape, even a trapezoid, as in the ambulatories of the apses of the cathedrals.

Another characteristic of the Gothic style is that the lateral thrust of the arches of the vault, which come together at a given point, is resisted by flying buttresses, or segments of arches whose thrust is in the opposite direction and which appear to be propping up the wall (fig. 577). In Romanesque architecture this support was not applied in the same manner. In the first place the vault was usually cylindrical, and the thrust, being uniformly exerted along the top of the wall, was arrested by the weight of the wall itself. When the main vault was strengthened by reënforcing arches, the latter were indicated on the ex-

Figs. 578 and 579.—Pinnacle ornaments. *(Cathedral of Chartres.)*

terior of the building by solid strip buttresses which acted as props and balanced the arches of the interior. In a word, the mechanics of classical and Romanesque architecture was static, force was opposed by weight; while Gothic mechanics was dynamic; one force resisted another. For this reason a Gothic church is so complicated and so perfect that one part of the structure cannot be touched without altering every other part. The moment a flying buttress breaks, the arch which it supports will spread apart, and so will the diagonal arches which rest upon the same point. Consequently, if but one element is lacking, the entire building will fall.

But it is not by this structural technique alone that the Gothic style is characterized. We also find a new taste displayed in the mouldings and ornamentation. The Romanesque mouldings were round, many of them still corresponding to those of the classical styles; while in the Gothic buildings they offer an infinite variety of convex forms. These project from a concave surface and produce remarkable effects of light and shadow in the interiors of the buildings of the northern countries where the style originated. These complicated mouldings also serve to characterize the period of the monument in which they are found. The more sharply edged and complicated they are, the more advanced is the style of the building. At first little difference existed between Romanesque and Gothic mouldings, and the Gothic style is recognized by little else than the form of the vault. Later, the mouldings take on a sharper edge, and their curves become more complicated. It is also interesting to note the manner in which the mouldings of the Gothic buildings are arrranged, following the principles

Figs. 580 and 581. — Decorative monsters. *(Notre Dame de Paris.)*

of unity and symmetry. They begin in the mouldings of the diagonal arches which unite at the capital of the column and are often prolonged down to the floor. In such cases the columns constitute a bundle of the accumulated mouldings of the various arches of the vault. Usually the vaulting of the nave is much higher than that of the aisles; the latter are not required to resist its lateral thrust that being accomplished by the buttresses on the exterior of the church. We no longer find the high galleries of the Romanesque churches, instead, we find above the arches between the nave and aisles the immense windows necessary in regions like Normandy and the Ile-de-France where there is not the bright light of Southern Europe.

Fig. 582. — Gargoyles. *(St. Germain d'Auxerre.)* PARIS.

This arrangement gives the exterior of the church its characteristic appearance. We see the low aisles, and between them the nave rises like the inverted hull of a ship, supported on either side by the extended arches of the great flying buttresses. It is hardly

necessary to add that the arches, windows and flying buttresses are all ogival; it is only rarely that we find the round arch employed in a Gothic edifice. The large windows are divided by a border of slender columns and curved stone ornaments which formed a very complicated tracery in the last part of the Gothic period. The thin columns and tracery of the windows are purely decorative. As all the strength of the building is concentrated at the spring of the reënforcing arches, which are the points of support of the diagonal arches as well, the light walls have no function in upholding the main structure, and the space they occupy could have been left entirely open, so far as the strength of the building is concerned. In the nave of a cathedral it was customary to have a sort of gallery called a triforium which is also indicated on the main façade on the exterior.

Fig. 583. — Cathedral of Laon.

The pinnacles of the buttresses and the finials of the towers and spires are usually ornamented with plantforms carved in stone, such as a bud about to open (figs. 578 and 579). The mouldings of the arches are often accentuated by means of a series of leaves and flowers, and we also find the capitals and the keystones of the vaults, where the ribs intersect, decorated in the same manner. The ornamental elements of Gothic architecture are placed at the most important points of the structure; these are adorned with flowers and other sculptures.

Fig. 584. — Exterior of the Cathedral of Amiens.

The architectural lines are never utilized so as to form a frame for the decoration, as so often occurs in Renaissance architecture.

These ornamental forms are taken from the commoner flowers and more modest field-plants; they are applied to the mouldings with a love for nature which had never been displayed since the time of Greek art. The trefoil, twisted ivy, tender shoots of vine, and oak, climb the arches and spires of a Gothic structure, following the lines of the new style. The very curves and twists of the decorative forms adapt themselves so completely to the character of the building that it seems as though Nature herself were taking part in the creation of these new cathedrals.

In classical art only a few plants, such as the acanthus, ivy and laurel, had been accepted in the decorative repertory; but the Gothic style made use of every member of the vegetable kingdom, and its artists went on to represent birds and even fanciful monsters sitting erect on the high balustrades like guardians of the spot (figs. 580 and 581). Sometimes these figures are in a crouching position and serve as gargoyles, or spouts, to carry off the water from the lead and slate roofs (fig. 582).

It is on the façades of the cathedrals that the spirit of the Gothic period is most apparent. The guilds of artisans and the burghers vied with one another in

Fig. 585.—Cathedral of Amiens. Interior.

their display of devout spirit and artistic taste. In France especially we find these façades richly clothed with sculpture. Below are the three portals, their splayed jambs covered with niches which shelter statues of apostles and prophets. These three doorways correspond to the nave and adjoining aisles of the interior, and the lines of arches between the latter are often marked on the outside by buttresses which divide the façade into three great divisions. Over each entrance are series of concentric arches, the great central doorway being frequently divided by a pillar in the centre bearing the statue of Christ, the Holy Virgin or the patron saint of the city.

Above the zone of the doorways, there is usually a frieze of statues of kings which, according to some, are those of France, for the cities, grateful to the royal power which had granted them their liberties, were ever faithful to their sovereign. Others, however, believe that these figures represent the kings of Judah, the predecessors of Christ, who bear branches of the tree of Jesse instead of scepters. We find this gallery of royal figures on the façades of the cathedrals of Amiens, Rheims, Chartres and Paris. Those of the last named were destroyed during the French Revolution and have been replaced by modern statues.

Over this frieze of kings is another zone composed of either three great rose windows or three magnificent divided ones surmounted by pointed arches, which give the interior the afternoon light from the west, for the façade is usually turned toward that direction. As the aisles are much lower than the nave,

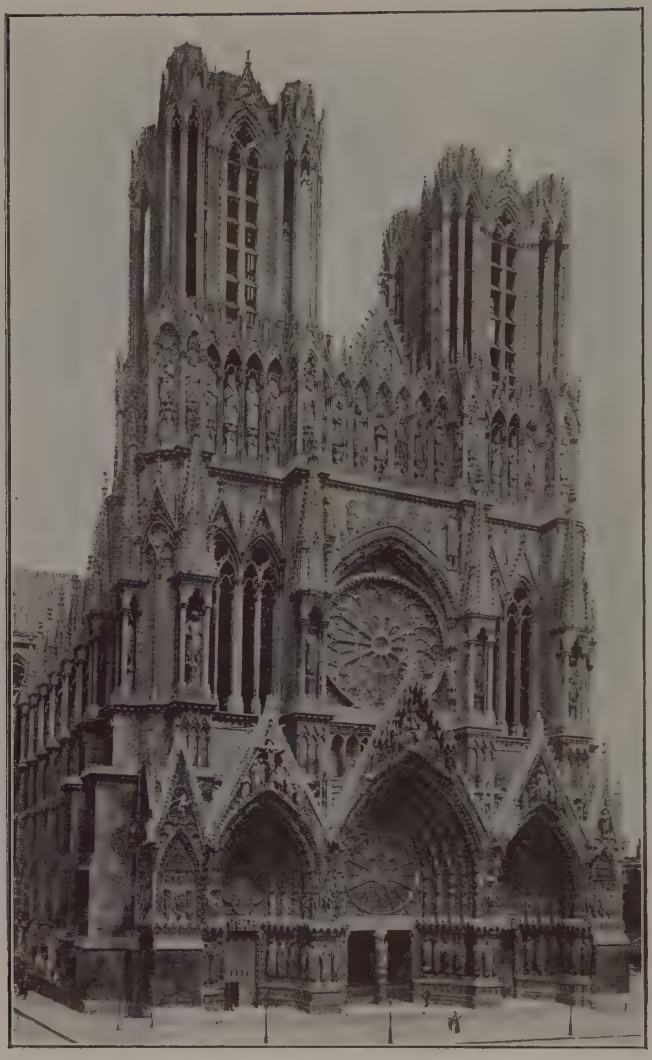


Fig. 586. — Cathedral of Rheims (from a pre-war view).

the latter is sometimes indicated on the outside by an elaborate gable-like member higher than the one on either side. The more usual treatment, however, is to employ but one in the centre, flanked by belfries which stand in front of the aisles. These towers nearly always terminate in tall spires which are the most characteristic feature in the outline of the church. The French cities which erected the first Gothic cathedrals were eager to surpass those of the neighboring towns, and they all vied with one another in topping their towers with sharp spires which could be seen from a great distance. On the plains of "sweet France," as the writer of the Song of Roland calls his native land, where no mountains or high hills interrupt the horizon, the low houses of an old city are dominated by the enormous mass of the cathedral with the spires of its towers piercing the sky. As the traveller approaches, he begins to distinguish the pinnacles surmounting the innumerable buttresses, the great divided windows and the façade towering above the other buildings of the town.

When the visitor has entered the cathedral and explored its chapels and crypt, if he mounts one of the towers, he will see again the fair land of France with its vineyards, groves and a peaceful river winding off into the distance. But amid it all rise the countless pinnacles and buttresses of the cathedral and

the crest of its nave like the keel of an upturned ship, which seem to tell him of another France, that of St. Louis and the Crusaders, the France which gave the laws of mediaeval art and civilization to the world.

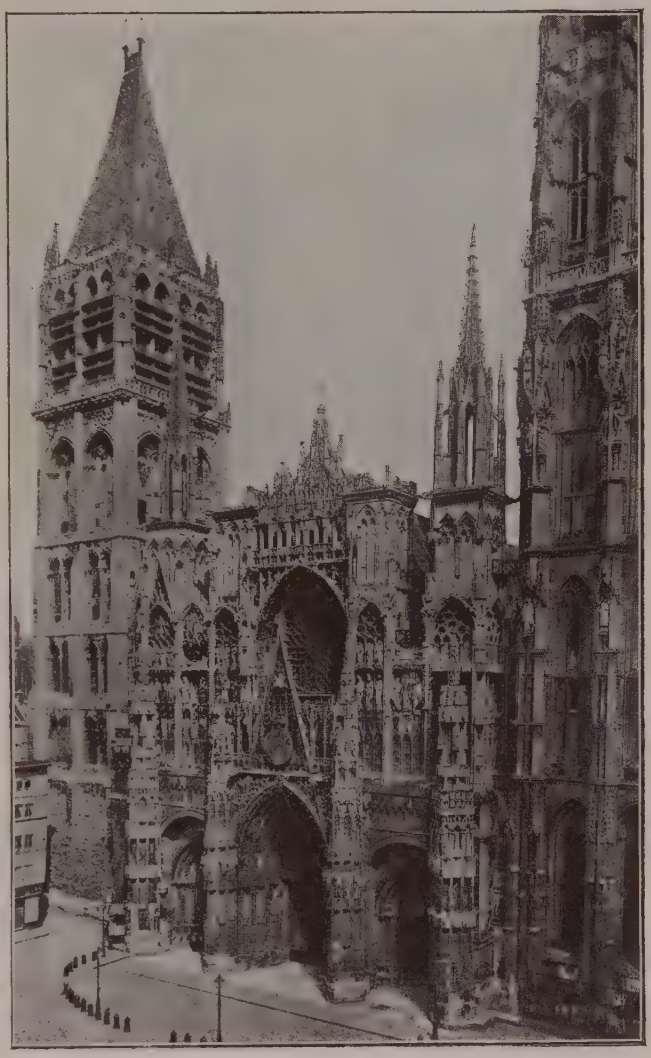


Fig. 587. — Cathedral of Rouen.

Within a few decades there spread over the land a remarkable series of Gothic monuments which still constitute the most precious heritage of France. The country has produced nothing since that time which can compare with the splendid art of its cathedrals and the monuments with which they are embellished. Some of them suffered from the Revolution, like St. Denis and Notre Dame at Paris, but the structural system of a Gothic building is such that it cannot be materially altered without completely ruining it. For this reason the French cathedrals suffered little from ill-advised restorations. The canons and gallant prelates of the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV had to content themselves by displaying their Baroque tastes in a new chapel or over a doorway; they could do nothing with the complicated vaulting which would fall apart if modified in the slightest degree. Indeed, when an artistic type achieves perfection, it comes to possess a vitality and a resistance never found in the monuments of a transition period. The same is true of the Greek temples; the Parthenon has served as a Christian church, and in Syracuse an ancient temple

Fig. 588. — Notre Dame at Paris. Main Façade.

is used today as a cathedral, but their forms cannot be destroyed or changed by restorations. And it is because the Greek temple and the Gothic cathedral are perfected creations, full of life and not so far apart as they might seem. The Gothic cathedral is derived from the Christian basilica which is an adaptation of the pagan civil basilica, and this in turn is related to that of the Greek temple. But the interest inspired by the Greek temple is in its exterior; the sanctuary itself is small and confined, while the Gothic cathedral subordinates everything to the interior. To support its great vault and illuminate the sanctuary, the lateral façades are sacrificed and become a mass of pinnacles and buttresses.

Some of the great Gothic cathedrals were erected very rapidly. At Chartres, after the old Romanesque cathedral was burned in 1193, the choir of the new one was consecrated in 1198. At other times, however, they rose slowly, and a century or two was required to decorate the façades. The cathedral of Noyon, one of the first, was built in a short time; in the decade from 1140 to 1150 the church was ready for worship. That of Laon was consecrated in 1200; and Notre Dame at Paris, begun in 1163, was consecrated in 1183, although the main façade was not finished until 1245. The cathedral of Amiens, the most perfect in France, was erected from 1220 to 1280, three masters succeeding one another in the directing of the work. The first, Robert de Luzarches, was followed by Thomas de Cormont and the latter's son, René. Rheims cathedral was

Cathedral

PHOTO C. DE M. H.

e. PARIS.

begun in 1211, and the development of its magnificent structure and rich decorations continued until the year 1400. Many parts still remain unfinished. At Narbonne a most ambitious building was planned, but it progressed only so far as the apse; during the Renaissance the canons added to it a structure which serves only as a foil for the magnificent facing of piers which now remain of the original edifice.

Fig. 589. — Notre Dame at Paris. Interior.

If it was difficult to determine the schools and fields of influence of the Romanesque period, it is still more so in the Gothic, for the growing powers of the kings imposed a uniformity which did not before exist. Moreover, it was a period of universality, of broad ambitions and international ideas. Western Christianity had not yet been disrupted by the Reformation, and one ideal was common to all. In any case, it is plain that the builders of some of the most famous monuments formed a school. The façade of St. Dénis evidently served as a model for the architects of the cathedrals of Sens, Senlis, and Notre Dame at Châlons. Paris, the cultural centre of the period, is full of Gothic monuments. Its cathedral still triumphs over all the imposing piles which later generations of the old Lutetia have raised (figs. 588, 589 and Plate XLI). Rising from an island, its proud towers, pinnacles and buttresses are reflected in the Seine.

During the last years of the Twelfth Century the venerated church of St. Germain-des-Prés was erected, or at least modified, and finally in the capital itself we find the Sainte-Chapelle, built in the time of St. Louis. Of all the architecture of France, this is the gem. It was destined to contain the relics of the

Fig. 590. — Sainte-Chapelle. Exterior. Paris.

crown of thorns, and now stands engulfed in the buildings of the Palais de Justice.

The Sainte-Chapelle is in itself a reliquary. A low crypt extends beneath the entire floor-space and raises the building somewhat. On the upper floor, where the chapel proper is, there is an altar supporting a little shrine which was supposed to guard the mystic crown (figs. 590 and 591). The wall-space is almost entirely occupied by mullioned windows filled with the stained glass of the period. Through these the light filters in every direction, and owing to the contrast afforded by the fillets and the faces of the piers, the splendid sanctuary gives the effect of being more brilliantly lighted than the open court outside. The crown of thorns would gleam in an aureole of color above the altar. Here St. Louis and his fellow Crusaders gazed with religious ardor on the precious relic which they had rescued at the cost of so much hardship and treasure. Today the little church cannot but have for us a deeper message than even the divine Erechtheum, the shrine of Minerva Polias, with which the Sainte-Chapelle may well be compared for its beauty and proportions as well as the service which it performs.

Although all these French cathedrals were built about the same time and are very similar in plan and elevation, each has a character, we might even say a personality, of its own, depending upon the circumstances of its foundation and the particular use to which it was put. Chartres Cathedral is expressive of its ancient history and still retains the old crypt and some parts of the original

Carolingian structure. Notre Dame is majestic and elegant, a worthy embellishment of the royal capital, but it also has a certain incomparable grace bestowed upon it by its dedication to the Virgin, the adored Sovereign Lady of the Middle Ages. Rheims Cathedral is rich and splendid befitting a national monument, for it was here that the kings were crowned, and its portal often served as a setting for the proud cortège which accompanied the Lord's anointed.

Fig. 591. — Sainte-Chapelle. Interior. PARIS.

Sometimes the work on the cathedrals went on for generations. One architect succeeded another, all working devoutly to carry out the same plan. Their own individuality disappears as though absorved by the magnitude of the work, and they were but the humble servants of the temple. We are ignorant of the details of their lives. Of the great masters who built the cathedrals of Paris, Amiens and Rheims we know little more than their names. There is no doubt, however, that they were for the most part laymen. But they were pious, filled with a sincere faith and maintained close relations with the monks from whom they may have learned the first principles of their art. They spent their lives studying and solving the structural problems presented by their tasks.

These architects were noteworthy specialists, but they were without vanity, sincere, loyal and devoted to their art. We learn a little of them from the album of Villard de Honnecourt which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (figure 592 and Plate XLII). It is an album of drawings with annotations lacking entirely in literary pretensions. "Villard de Honnecourt," it begins in its Picard

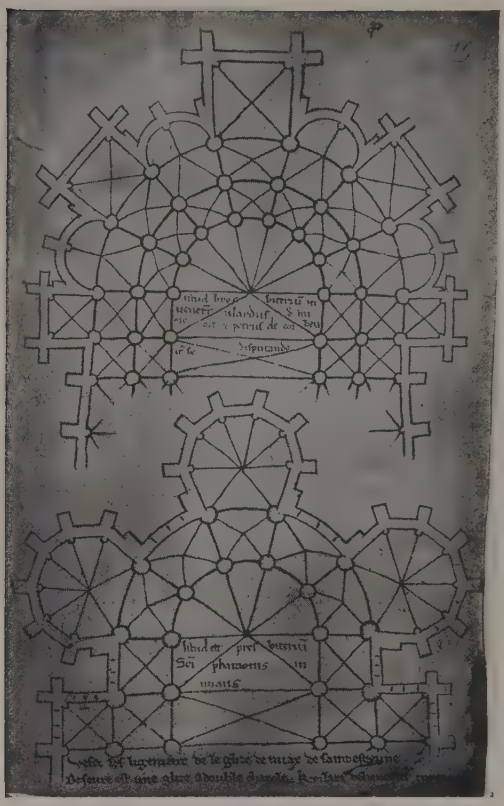


Fig. 592.— Sketch from Villard de Honnecourt's album. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

dialect, "salutes you and begs all of you who engage in the works treated in this volume that you pray for his soul and be mindful of him." We do not know positively that any of the buildings of Villard de Honnecourt have been preserved, but the notes in this album reveal much of his life and education in matters of art. This French master-builder of the Thirteenth Century seems to have studied and worked with the Cistercian monks; he was familiar with their churches and was always in constant contact with the Order.

He was a great traveller and eagerly sketched all that he saw; both the architectural plans and his own solutions of the problems presented are carefully set down in his book. Interested in everything and possessed of the broad humor of the West, he has sketched a lion and written beside it, "Know that this lion was drawn from life." He writes the same of his birds and flowers. Passing through Rheims he became interested in some ancient statues which had been discovered there. In another place he writes, "Once I was in Hun-

Fig. 593.— Palace of the Popes. AVIGNON.

Page from the album of Villard de Honnecourt, a French architect of the 13th Century. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

gary, and there I saw a church pavement made in this manner," and he adds a sketch of the floor in question. He appears to have been associated for a time with one Pierre de Corbie, who was also a layman and a pupil of the Cistercians. In a graceful dialogue they proposed subjects for a contest. We find in this album the apse of a cathedral, all worked out, which he remarks was made "*inter se disputando*" (fig. 592). Like the painters of the Ceramicus at Athens, these excellent master-builders of the Middle Ages indulged in friendly disputes and competitions in their art. So far as we can tell from Villard de Honnecourt's work, the great builders of the cathedrals were simple men, and the expense accounts of the various buildings assign them but a modest salary.

This unique architectural sketch-book of the period casts a little light upon the lives and characters of the mediaeval architects, and it is the more valuable because their writings and working rules have not come down to us. There is no treatise on French Gothic architecture dating from the Middle Ages. When Viollet-le-Duc attempted to sum up its achievements in his *Dictionnaire,* he could obtain his data only from those portions of the mediaeval chronicles and documents which told of the constructions.

There is no treatise of this period such as Hippodamus of Miletus wrote on Ionic architecture or Vitruvius on that of Imperial Rome; but the buildings themselves speak with a sincerity that could be never found in any book of rules.

The apogee of French Gothic architecture lasted all through the Fourteenth Century; after that, the style of the vault and shape of the doors and windows began to depart from the pure line of the ogival arch, and we find the so-called

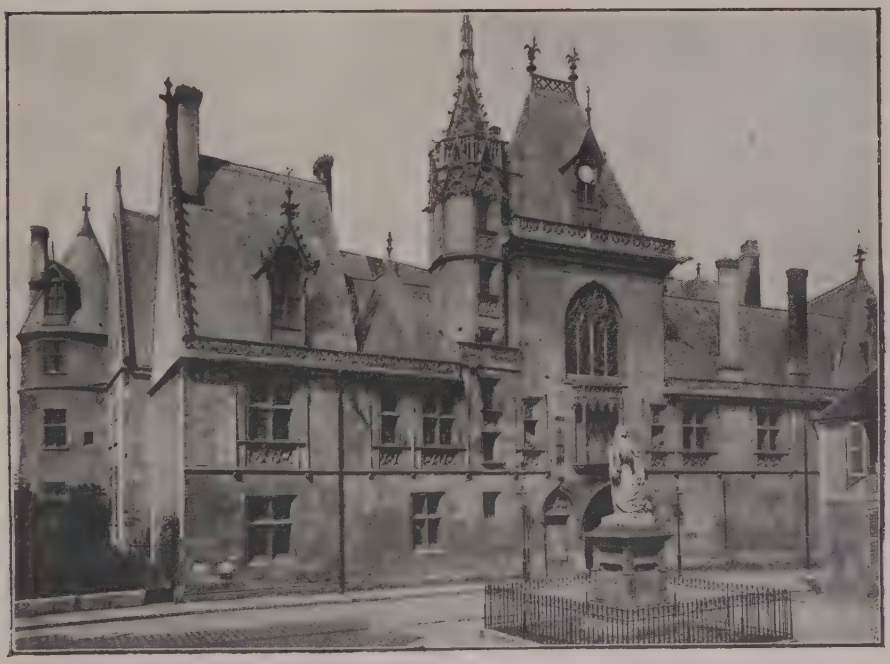


Fig. 594. — Maison de Jacques Coeur. Bourges.

Fig. 595. — Palace of the Abbots of Cluny. Paris.

flamboyant Gothic, which will be discussed in another chapter. But during this first period French architecture held fast to the two or three fundamental principles which we have already noted. These are the groined vault with its independent diagonal arches, the ogival arch, the use of the buttress to arrest a lateral thrust and a system of mouldings arranged in accordance with their structural usefulness. In every case these principles were applied, and the land was covered with buildings, many of which are still monuments to the great unity of this style. They were not cathedrals alone, but monasteries, civil and military buildings, gateways, bridges, palaces and castles as well. Particularly noteworthy is the great Norman monastery at Mont-Saint-Michel, which rises from a small island near the coast (figs. 573, 575 and 576). Foremost among the palaces was the royal residence at Paris called the Louvre. It was rebuilt at a later period by Francis I, and only one or two of its towers now remain; but in the Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry we find a miniature showing the old Gothic palace with its round towers crowned with conical roofs and enclosed by a battlemented wall defended by turrets on its flanks.

Sometimes these palaces are great massive structures like that at Avignon (fig. 593), but others proudly display countless towers and roofs at various heights, with sculptured finials and pinnacles of a fanciful mediaeval character, like the house of an eccentric millionnaire of our own time. Of this sort, no doubt, was the castle of Jean, Duc de Berry, at Melun. It is represented in the

miniatures and descriptions that have come down to us. It was not unlike the palace erected at Bourges by the wealthy merchant, Jacques Coeur, who was the treasurer of Charles VII (fig. 594).

In the Gothic palaces the stairways were usually in round or octagonal towers set at the corners of the court, which gave a certain sweep to the façades. The steep slopes of the roof were pierced by lucarnes, or dormer windows, which lighted the topmost stories directly under the rafters. We still see the magnificent effect produced by these lucarnes in the palace of the Abbots of Cluny at Paris (fig. 595) and in the residence of the Bishops of Sens at the capital, still known as the Hôtel de Sens (fig. 596). Sometimes the great halls of these palaces or residences were covered with stone vaulting, but more often the ceilings were of wood decorated with reliefs and polychrome decorations. The tall chimneys rising above the walls produced a monumental effect. Perhaps the finest existing example of this combination of dormer windows and chimneys is the hall of the ducal palace of Poitiers. Above the stepped façade rise the three immense chimneys of the fireplaces which heated the great hall (fig. 597).

Fig. 596. — Hôtel de Sens. Paris.

It was not the palaces alone which were enriched by taking advantage of the structural features such as roofs, windows, chimneys and the like for decorative purposes; we find the same in all the public buildings of the period, the town-halls, hospitals, monasteries and guild-halls. The hospitals boasted a splendor which may not have been entirely in accord with modern hygienic principles, but it cannot be denied that everything possible was done to lodge the sick in handsome quarters. France still preserves a number of her Gothic hospitals; the finest of them all is that of Beaune on the Côte d'Or with its handsome court decorated with lucarnes and its large galleries for the convalescents (fig. 598). It still retains its well ventilated hall with high ceilings and wooden screens separating the beds (fig. 599). In the cities were ornamental stone fountains, many of them still doing service.

Fig. 597. — Ducal palace. Poitiers.

The most complete of the French Gothic castles is that of Pierrefonds, which belonged to the Duc d'Aumale; but it has been excessively restored by Viollet-le-Duc. In the court is a large stairway of honor, and its flanks are defended by circular towers ending in the conical roofs of grey slate so typical of

Fig. 598. — Hospital of Beaune. Cloistered court.

Fig. 599. — Hospital of Beaune. Dormitory.

Fig. 600. — Castle of King René. TARASCON.

Fig. 601. — Walls of Avignon.

the period. In all the halls there were polychrome decorations and most of them were lighted with stained glass windows, a new decorative feature. Another smaller castle, still unrestored, is that of King René of Anjou at Tarascon on the further side of the bridge connecting the two parts of the city (fig. 600).

The castle of Tarascon defended a frontier, so it has the aspect of an imposing fortress. Few windows pierce its walls and towers, and the walls are smooth and plain with little attempt at decoration.

Many French cities still preserve remains of their Gothic walls with the typical square merlons and the towers at the angles, but in few does the entire enclosure remain intact as at Avignon, whose walled beauty is unsurpassed in

Fig. 602. — Walls of Aigues Mortes

all France. The tops of these walls are ornamented with battlements as are those of the city gates (fig. 601).

Many cities and towns were founded in France at this time as is so often the case during a period of prosperity. Some of them were created by the great landholders who trafficked in franchises and they later fell into decadence. The most interesting case of a Gothic city which was soon abandoned is that of Aigues Mortes which St. Louis established at the mouth of the Rhone. The devout monarch wished to possess in his Mediterranean territories a city which would serve as a port of embarkation for the Orient, and here by the lagoons he built the walls and public edifices for an important city (fig. 602).

The interior of such a walled city was divided into wards for the various trades and occupations. As the business of an entire district was often accomodated by its restricted space, the streets were narrow and the houses projected almost to the middle of the street. The ordinances of Perpignan, for example, permitted the houses to jut out as far as possible, so long as they cleared the head of a man on horseback. Consequently their façades are set forward on the beams of the first or second story, and below was a covered passage containing shops and sheltering the street-vendors. Bourges and some of the cities of Normandy still preserve many remains of the private houses of this period. The houses are often of wood and plaster and reenforced by timbers visible from the outside which are decorated with carvings. Each story usually contained only one or two rooms which had to serve every domestic purpose, and although a certain amount of unhygienic promiscuity was forced upon the population, the better educated classes possessed a reserve and composure which never deserted them.

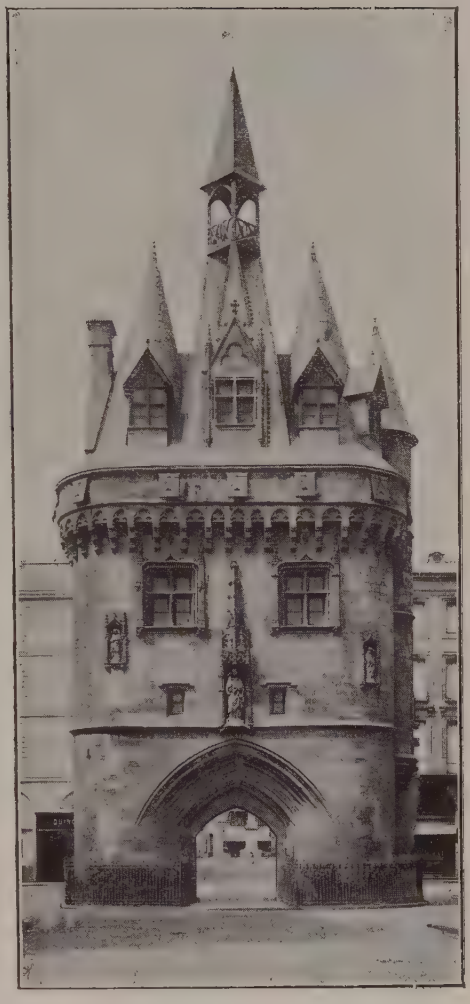


Fig. 603. — Gate of Bordeaux.

The cities were laid out according to the nature of the ground, but when a town was founded, the streets were arranged according to a regular plan. Aigues

Fig. 604. — The Beau-Dieu.
(Cathedral of Amiens.)

Mortes is laid out in square blocks with the main streets leading from the city gates to the square in the centre of the town. Some cities, like Paris, were paved, but as a general thing nothing could be more primitive than their drainage and sewerage system.

The highways were still far from being what they had been in Roman times, when broad paved roads extended across the civilized world from end to end. Only the tradition of constructing great bridges continued as in the days of the Roman Empire. But now the pointed arches permitted a greater span with less lateral thrust, so where it had formerly been necessary to set up a series of round arches, one sufficed, and the work of erecting the piers was lessened considerably. Sometimes a chapel or shrine was set in the middle of the bridge for the benefit of the devout wayfarer.

But the glory of mediaeval France, even more than the architecture of its magnificent cathedrals, was its sculpture, which had been slowly progressing ever since the Romanesque period. The monks of Cluny had given this art its first impulse, and it was checked only by the preaching of St. Bernard and the austere rule of the Cistercian Order which was opposed to ostentation of any sort. Beginning with the middle of the Twelfth Century, French sculpture resumed its upward progress and it was not long before it achieved a success which might be compared to that of ancient Greece. The earlier Gothic sculpture of France, which we may call archaic when we compare it with the later work, consists of some of the statues of the great church of St. Dénis and of Chartres. The drapery falls in straight folds and clings closely to the body as in the earlier work of the Greek sculptors. In the space between the doorways at Chartres we see how the Gothic sculptors, beginning with trial efforts, finally achieved a marvelous success. At Amiens, Rheims and Paris their finest work modestly decorates the façades of the ancient buildings with a touching simplicity. The column dividing the entrance to the cathedral at Amiens, for example, is adorned with a statue of Jesus called the Beau-Dieu of Amiens. It is an amazing example of French Gothic sculpture with its beatific expression, pointed beard and serene

Fig. 605. — The Virgin of the Portal. North Side. *(Cathedral of Chartres.)*

Fig. 606. — The Virgin of the Portal. South Side. *(Cathedral of Chartres.)*

Fig. 607. — The Virgin of the Portal. *(Cathedral of Amiens.)*

eyes gazing down upon the town whose people understood so well the teachings of the Master (fig. 604).

Here in the open air, protected from the rain by small projecting canopies, we find the masterpieces of the sculptors of the French cathedrals. These devout artists did not seek the plaudits of the crowd; they worked only for God and their art. Many of their statues are hidden between the buttresses or located high on the roof where they could not be seen by the multitudes which thronged the streets below.

Many of them have passed unnoticed until our own time. No one had gone up to look at them. Caressed by the sun and wind, these marvelous statues stood alone upon the roofs of the cathedrals. St. Theodore of Chartres, a youthful knight with shield and lance, is one of the most idealized works of art ever created at any period. Others which were more accessible are gone for ever. We shall never know what the Revolution cost the art of France; indeed, it is a miracle that so many cathedral statues have remained intact to this day. On the cathedral of Chartres alone, the figures can be counted by the thousand. One is

Fig. 603.—Seated Virgin. *(Church of Taverny.)*

in accordance with the law of art which applies to every style; it becomes more natural at each attempt. There is the immobile, pure Madonna on the northern doorway at Chartres which is still of the Twelfth Century (fig. 605); then we find the Thirteenth Century statue on the southern façade (fig. 606); and finally we come to the golden figure on the cathedral of Amiens with its smiling face and elaborately arranged hair (fig. 607).

Jesus and the Virgin, the two fundamental types of mediaeval iconography, saddened by a photograph of Notre Dame at Paris taken before the missing statues were restored. We see the vacant gallery of kings, and the beautiful white marble figure of the Virgin is missing from the centre of the façade before the rose-window, also those of Adam and Eve which had so long characterized the monumental composition.

In the repertory of the Gothic sculptors of these cathedrals we see certain models develop slowly, always preserving the same type, until the highest perfection is achieved, just as we have already watched the same thing occur in the art of ancient Greece. The standing figure of Christ in an attitude of benediction on the column of the main doorway of the façade at Amiens is repeated with little variation on the southern portal of Chartres Cathedral and on a number of others as well. Another type is the Virgin holding the Child in her arms and slightly bending, with the folds of the mantle caught up at the waist. This figure continually improves

Fig. 609. Coronation of the Virgin. Ivory carving. *(Museum of Lyons.)*

Fig. 610. — Coronation of the Virgin. Polychrome ivory. *(Louvre.)*

change somewhat during the Gothic period. The Saviour is no longer the Omnipotent, seated upon a throne as in the Romanesque period, like the Byzantine Christ, surrounded by the symbolical figures of the four Evangelists, but rather the Son of Man upon his mission to earth. We find a certain spark of French grace; the beard is combed and the hair, undulating. The Virgin, always young, is either standing or seated, but she holds the Child in her left arm or on the left knee. The Divine Mother is at first dressed in a full mantle, recalling the Romanesque type, and is without a crown like the Virgin of Byzantine art (fig. 605). By the middle of the Thirteenth Century, however, we find the head covered with a cloth and a royal crown (figs. 606, 607 and 608). The history of Mary is told in tender accents, from the Annunciation and Visitation to the scene on Calvary and her triumphant ascent to Heaven where her Son awaits her to crown her and seat her at his right hand (figs. 609 and 610). Like that of the Greek artists, the repertory of the Gothic sculptors is a concrete one; few variations are permitted in the manner of representing any of the evangelical scenes. They had, of course, certain favorite themes; the Annunciation was preferred to the Visitation, and the Adoration of the

Fig. 611. — Adoration of the Magi.
Relief in the choir of Notre Dame at Paris.

Fig. 612. — Melchizedek, Abraham and the servant. *(Cathedral of Rheims.)*

Magi to that of the Shepherds. The mysterious kings are always three in number; the first, old and bald, takes off his crown at the feet of the Virgin and Child; the second, a tall slender man in a large mantle, raises the cup filled with gifts and points to the miraculous star; while the third, young and beardless, contemplates the prodigy with curiosity and amazement (fig. 611).

These subjects are rendered in the same manner in monumental sculpture as in the ivories, miniatures and stained glass windows. The Coronation of the Virgin, for example, with two kneeling angels looking on, as we see it in the tympanum of the doors of the cathedrals of Paris, Chartres, Sens, Senlis and Amiens, is the same as the marvelous ivory group which may have belonged to St. Louis or his mother, Blanche of Castile, and is now in the Louvre (fig. 610). When there was not sufficient space for the angels, as in the little ivory trip-

Fig. 613. — The Annunciation and the Visitation. *(Cathedral of Rheims.)*

tychs (fig. 609), we find only the two principal characters, Jesus and the Virgin. But these appear in the same postures as in the monumental sculptures; the Virgin with folded hands bows humbly, even at this glorious moment, and the King of Heaven with the Gospels in his left hand sets the crown upon her head with his right.

The same is true of all the other themes of the mediaeval Christian repertory of the Gothic period. The great French artists who created them so slowly simplified the subject-matter and summed it up in a brief view, and in this manner they finally attained perfection.

Entirely lacking in personal vanity, they obeyed the law of types which has always had such important consequences for art. It permitted the coöperation of a number different generations of artists. A work like the Virgin of Amiens or the ivory of the Coronation in the Louvre is never produced by the inspiration of a single genius. Painters and sculptors availed themselves of the same repertory; the three figures on the cathedral of Rheims representing the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek (fig. 612) reappear with the fuller details permitted

Fig. 614. — St. Stephen.
(Cathedral of Sens.)

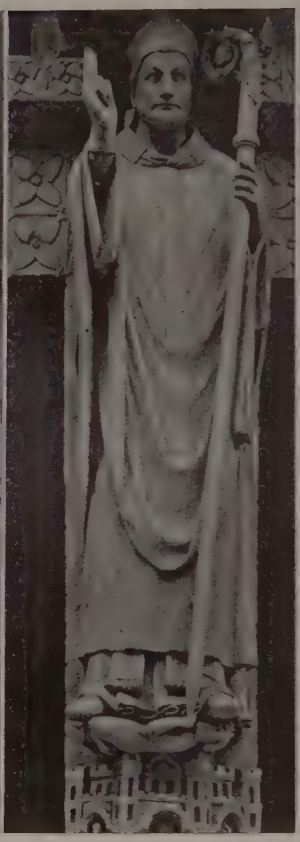


Fig. 615. — St. Fermin.
(Cathedral of Chartres.)

Fig. 616. — St. Theodore.
(Cathedral of Chartres.)

by painting in an illustration of the Psalter of St. Louis (fig. 622). In the Rheims group, the king appears as a priest at the altar giving communion to a knight dressed like a Crusader. This is Abraham beyond a doubt, and the squire is his servant, Eliezer. In the miniature, Melchizedek wears a crown and mitre, so there is no doubt as to his identity (fig. 622). Abraham is accompanied by a number of servants, all dressed in coats of mail, but he still wears the patriarchal white beard which we no longer find in the Rheims group.

Like the Greek artists, these Gothic sculptors, although they were respecters of type, did not fall into that servile imitation which held back Byzantine art. They were assiduous students, not only of nature, but of form and color as well. The album of Villard de Honnecourt is an evidence of their insatiable fondness for study. The Picard artist reproduces not only the work of the masters of his period, but also animals, plants and even antique marbles which had been dug up. But even the last assume in his sketches the character of his time. This almost modern eclecticism may be seen in the four famous statues in the

Fig. 617.— St. Modeste.
(Chartres Cathedral.)

Figs. 618 and 619.— Two French kings.
St. Louis (?) and Charles V. *(Louvre.)*

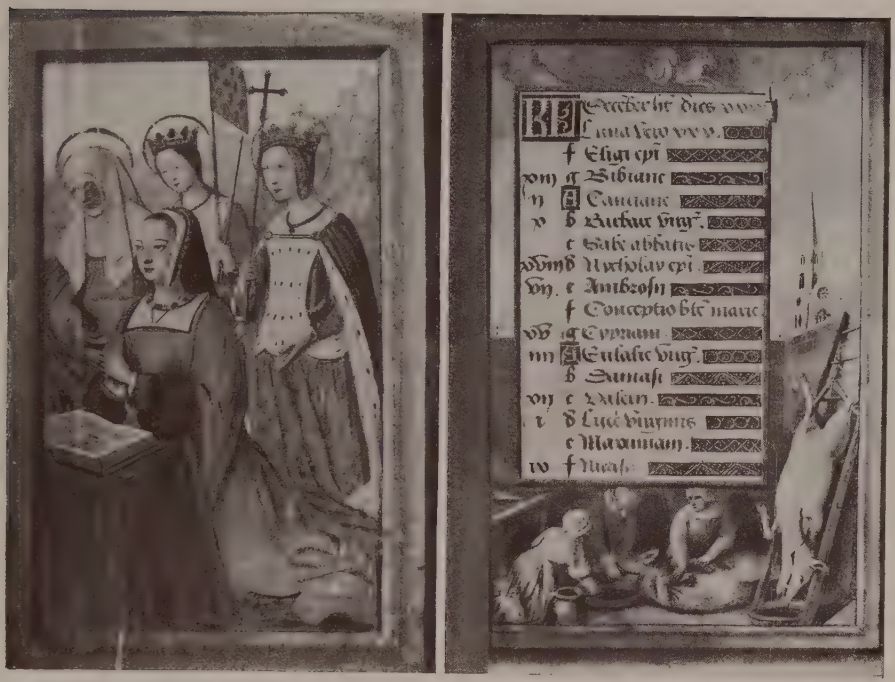
porch of the cathedral of Rheims representing the Annunciation and the Visitation (fig. 613).

The group of the Virgin and the angel is carved with a Gothic simplicity of line that contrasts with the style of the group of Mary and Elizabeth. The last were evidently inspired by antique marbles. The manner of rendering the folds of the drapery seems to have been copied from some Hellenistic grave-monument, discovered, perhaps, in Champagne and noticed by the sculptors of the cathedral.

The creative power of the Gothic artists is particularly evident in the representation of the local patron saints. The evangelical repertory of the lives of Jesus and Mary, amplified by the Apocryphal Gospels, had its antecedents in Byzantine and Romanesque art. The types of Christ and the Virgin had already been created, and the Gothic artists did little more than modify them. But the Middle Age was the period of patron saints who had a part in every phase of life. It was for these and the legends connected with them that the iconography of

Figs. 620 and 621. — Adam and Eve. Noah's ark. Sacrifice of Abraham. *Psalter of Blanche of Castile. (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.)* PARIS.

Figs. 622 and 623. — Abraham and Melchizedek. The vision of David. *Psalter of Saint Louis. (Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.



Figs. 624 and 625. — Frontispiece and Month of December. Miniatures of the Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

the West was created. The traditions of the lives of the saints were collected by a Ligurian bishop, Jacobus de Voragine, in his book called the Golden Legend. This was, perhaps, the most popular book of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Upon these legends the painters and sculptors based the themes of their reliefs and pictures painted on wood. To completely identify the saint, each was accompanied by some attribute which distinguished him from the others. In the Byzantine repertory we have seen that all the knightly saints were very similar and could be recognized only by the accompanying legend. The same was true of the apostles and the doctors of the faith. In the Latin Occident, art was more concrete and expressive. St. George, for example, is always accompanied by his dragon; St. Anthony, by a pig; St. Jerome, by a lion. Each apostle also had his attribute. Peter had his keys; St. Andrew, his cross; Paul, a sword; Stephen the Deacon bears the Holy Scriptures (fig. 614). When there is no fixed symbol, a relief representing the legend is placed at the feet of the saint (figs. 615 to 617).

On very rare occasions we find in the cathedrals scenes taken from profane history, such as the Charlemagne legend or the Crusades. The history of the world centres on the life of Christ. He and his doctrine are the sum and substance of it all. Some sculptures of royal personages are doubtless portraits, but only on exceptional occasions were such figures introduced into the cathedrals (figs. 618 and 619). The figures of princes and prelates were carved upon their tombs which also offered scope for portrait sculpture.

Figs. 626 and 627. — The Visitation. Bathsheba at the Bath. Miniatures from the Book of Hours No. 1171. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

The chapels of the French cathedrals were profusely decorated with mural paintings, although but few frescoes have come down to us from this period. But we must not ascribe to painting, confined as it was to ornamental purposes, the important results achieved by sculpture. The remains of the Gothic mural paintings of France published by Gelis and Lafilée contrast strongly with the examples of Romanesque painting reproduced in the same work. They consist merely of imitation masonry which was sometimes ornamented with fleurs-de-lis. In the chapel of the house of Jacques Coeur at Bourges, nevertheless, we find on the vaults a number of angel figures beautifully drawn and tastefully arranged between the arches.

The reign of St. Louis marks the apogee of Gothic miniature painting in France. The principal centre of this school was in Paris. Dante pays it a tribute when in his *Inferno* he says of the most famous Italian miniature painter, "Ch'alluminar è chiamata in Parigi." The University was obliged to prohibit the excessive use of expensive illuminated books among its students. The Paris miniatures of the Thirteenth Century are the best known. Later, an important centre of book decoration was established at Avignon, but this school has been little studied.

Only rarely do we find, among these illustrated manuscripts, voluminous Bibles and sacramentaries like those of the Carolingian period, but rather separate texts, psalters and evangelistaries as well as the prayer-books called "Books of Hours." The Bibles were either very small and hardly illustrated, or else the

text was entirely suppressed and the book was composed wholly of pictures, the precursor of the so-called "Bibles of the poor" of the Renaissance.

In the reigns of St. Louis and Philip Augustus the books most characteristic were the psalters with full-page illustrations. These were not so unwieldy as the heavy Carolingian psalters, and the kings and nobles were accustomed to carry with them their books of devotion. The miniatures are of two types: one is an imitation of stained glass windows, the page being divided by circles containing the various scenes (figures 620 and 621), while in the other we find an architectural background of pinnacles, rose-windows, roofs and arcades with buttresses (figures 622 and 623).

Fig. 628.—Miniature of the Book of Hours No. 1158. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

Still later, in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, the Books of Hours became the most typical. They are handsomely bound with covers of enameled silver; some of them are headed by the portrait of the owner surrounded by his favorite saints (fig. 624) or persons of his suite (fig. 628). Then we have calendars with an illustration

Fig. 629. — Miniature in grisaille of the Miracles of the Virgin. *(Bibliothèque Nationale.)* PARIS.

Fig. 630. — Stained glass window of the cathedral of Poitiers.

corresponding to each month and the space destined for the lives of the saints (fig. 625). The text follows, consisting of daily prayers and the like, with an occasional full-page miniature of a purely decorative character which often has little connection with the subject-matter of the text. These are usually scenes from the lives of the Virgin and the saints, including the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Visitation (fig. 626) and, more rarely, scenes from the Old Testament, such as Bathsheba spied upon at her bath by King David, which are almost of a profane character (fig. 627).

During the whole first period of Parisian miniatures, which was in the reign of St. Louis, they were richly decorated with gold and bright colors, but all in harmony and good taste. Later, in the Fourteenth Century, particularly in the Avignon school, the gold surfaces diminish perceptibly, and we begin to note the influence of the Italian schools of miniature-painting of Bologna and Siena. Still later, in the schools of central France and Burgundy, the gold almost disappears, and the background of the miniatures is clothed in

Fig. 631. — Stained glass window of St. Julien du Sault.

natural colors. Sky and trees are indicated, however, by lines and dots of gold and silver to add brilliance.

In the middle of the Fourteenth Century, a new and distinguished style of miniature painting appeared, and in it the artists accomplished marvelous results. The scenes are painted in grayish tints and in a sort of chiaroscuro. This style is called grisaille (fig. 629). The most characteristic example of this work is the famous series of the Miracles of the Virgin, a compilation of miraculous incidents in which the Virgin intervened. These were compiled by the canon Gautier de Coincy and found a wide circulation. Alfonso the Wise of Castile imitated them in his *Cántigas*.

Another important manifestation of French Gothic painting is the stained

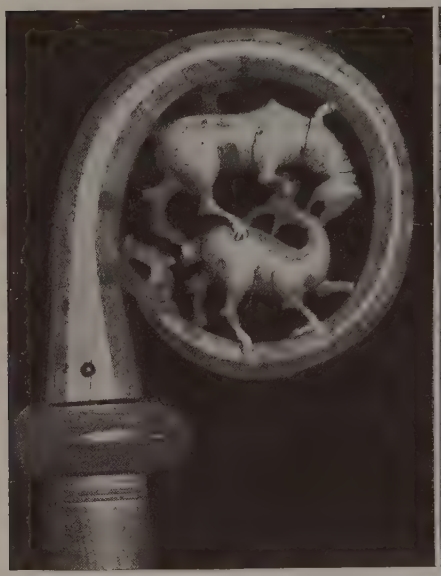


Fig. 632. — Bishop's crozier. VANNES.

Fig. 633. — Bishop's crozier. RHEIMS.

glass windows of the cathedrals, which were marvelously decorated with figures and scenes. Kings and prelates vied with one another in filling the windows of the new churches with them, and we usually find the shield of the donor in the border surrounding the composition in the centre. As we have already noted, the first school of French workers in stained glass was that of St. Denis in the time of Abbot Suger. The great prelate tells us of the part he took personally in reconstructing and decorating the abbey, which he desired to make a worthy burial place of the kings of France. Some of the glass described by Suger has been preserved, although it is badly mutilated. The monks of St. Denis, it appears, were the instructors of the artists of Chartres who decorated their cathedral with windows of this sort, and here a school grew up which was the most important in France during the last half of the Twelfth Century and the first part of the Thirteenth. The stained glass of the other French cathedrals is probably the work of artists from Chartres, for we find in them themes which originally appeared in that city. During the reign of St. Louis, Paris also became the principal centre of the French workers in glass. It was at this time that the precious windows of the Sainte-Chapelle were made and which give such a marvelous transparent effect to the interior of the building, flooding it with the most brilliant light.

The scenes pictured in these windows are the same as those of the reliefs and on the reredos, but it is possible that in this art the decorators were influenced to a certain extent by the canons and learned ecclesiastics who were in charge of the work. At any rate, we find the scenes imbued with mediaeval mysticism and the themes more subtilely interpreted. There is also a closer relation between the Old and New Testaments. In the lives of the saints, we

Fig. 634. — Reliquary in the shape of a human head of St. Martin of Soubrelles. *(Louvre.)*

Fig. 635. — Reliquary in the form of an arm. CAMBLAIN.

find the repertory of the legends of Voragine. Each scene is enclosed within a circular or rectangular border (fig. 630). The brilliancy of the colors is accentuated by the black leads which hold the glass in place (fig. 631).

In the Gothic period, every artisan, carpenter or iron-worker, was an artist. Even the most trifling detail was worked out by these humble craftsmen with a care which gave a positive value to their work. The same methodical rationalism which we have noted in the great monuments is also found in the smaller articles, such as chests, caskets and the wardrobes of the sacristies, where the structural elements of the article itself are used as decorative themes. They ornamented the hinges, locks and metal bands of the chests (fig. 636).

The old Romanesque enamel work of Limoges was superseded by a technique in translucent enamel. Here the transparent colors, like glass, take their brilliancy from the polished surface of the gold and silver to which they are applied. Ritual objects are often covered with this enamel. It is sometimes applied to the surface of the article itself, and sometimes plaques are soldered to the chalice or reliquary. The reliquaries are in the form of a church, but they also are shaped like the relic which they contain (figs. 634 and 635).

Summary. — The structural technique of the Romanesque school of Burgundy, perfected by the Cistercian monks, finally in the Thirteenth Century grew into a new architectural style which began to be employed in the Ile-de-France, or territory about Paris. This *Gothic* style is characterized by the use of a groined vault with diagonal ribs. The weight and thrust are centered on certain points which are strengthened by buttresses. The most important works in this style are the cathedrals which were mostly built during the Thirteenth Century. In the civil architecture of this period we find the same characteristics. The free cities constructed great walls, towers and hospitals. Sculptors cooperated in the decoration of the great religious edifices; the portals were filled with statues of apostles, saints and prophets. We find certain fixed types repeated with little variation, such as Jesus in an attitude of benediction and the Virgin with the Child in her arms. Each saint is characterized by his particular attribute, and his life is represented in relief sculptures in which we find scenes taken from the miraculous anecdotes of the Golden Legend. The painters portrayed the same themes with an enthusiasm and sincerity which recalls the great art of the classical period. Their work has come down to us chiefly in the form of miniatures; the other pictures of this period are extremely scarce today. The illustrated books are mostly psalters and Books of Hours bearing on the title-page the portrait of the owner surrounded by saints or members of his suite. The enamels and stained glass windows may also be considered manifestations of the painter's art, and these achieved a marvelous perfection during the Gothic period. Reliquaries, furniture and other examples of the minor arts were executed with the same care as that exhibited in the great monuments.

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Fig. 636. — French casket. *(Cluny Museum.)* Paris.

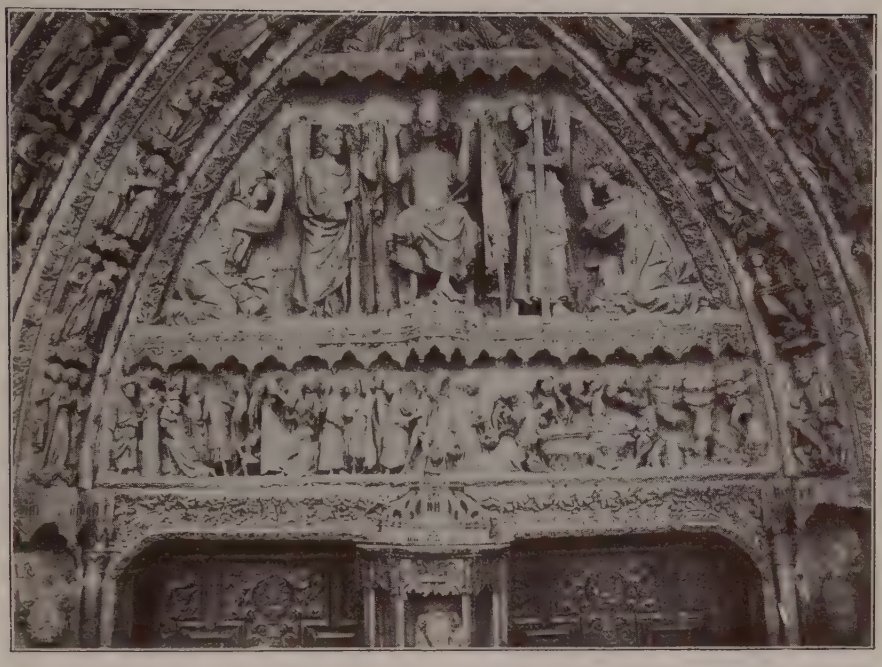

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 637. — Tympanum of the main doorway of the cathedral of Leon.

CHAPTER XVII

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN. — THE KINGDOMS OF CASTILE AND ARAGON. SCULPTURE AND PAINTING. — MINOR ARTS.

In Spain as in all the other European countries, Gothic art was a French importation, but nowhere was it received in so pure a form nor so completely adapted to the spirit of the people. This style developed in Spain as though it had originated there, and the peninsula was filled from end to end with monuments comparable to the finest Gothic creations of any land. In Germany alone do we find anything like the enthusiasm with which Spain took over this art from France and the completeness with which it was assimilated in its new home. During the centuries when Gothic forms predominated, neither England, nor the countries of Northern and Central Europe, nor Italy in the South did more than employ them through necessity. They only repeated them like a lesson learned by heart. Such was not the case in Spain. In purity of style and monumental size, the cathedrals of Leon, Burgos and Toledo may well be compared with the finest Gothic temples of Amiens, Paris and Chartres. The new style lost nothing, either in spirit or in strength of expression, when it crossed the Pyrenees; in Castile, on the contrary, it acquired a splendor and magnificence to which it was well suited. The Spanish people assimilated this style so

Figs. 638 and 639. — Cathedral of Ciudad-Rodrigo. Nave and aisles.

thoroughly that we continue to find it everywhere, in rural churches, private homes, palaces and castles, until, in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, it was replaced by the art of the Renaissance. Moreover, the Gothic style did not stand still in Spain; it never ceased to develop, adopting the boldest innovations of the Flemish and Rhenish schools and transforming them into something characteristically Spanish. Never, during these centuries, did the builders of Spain remain aloof from this great international movement. Indeed, we shall see how foreign architects came to Spain, not only when the style was first imported and the cathedrals of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries were in process of erection, but in the Fifteenth Century as well, when Spain was learning the application of newer and more complicated mouldings and other ornamental features of the Gothic art of Flanders and Germany.

We are well informed regarding the causes of this rapid introduction and thorough acceptation of the Gothic style in Spain beginning with the first half of the Thirteenth Century. The nobility and higher clergy of Spain are today little addicted to travel, it is true, due no doubt to the conservative traditions of a long-established culture; but during the period we are discussing they displayed a highly eclectic spirit and were not afraid to borrow from foreign countries the most daring innovations of the time. Not only were they receptive to the new forms and ideas which were brought to them, but foreing architects, adventurers, gentlemen and nobles, were all cordially received as well. Before undertaking the construction of a cathedral, the bishop would spend years in travelling about Europe. The kings, too, preferred to contract alliances with foreign princesses. These did not come to Spain alone; they were always accom-

Fig. 640. — General view of the Cathedral of Burgos.

panied by a retinue of nobles and prelates who infused new spirit into the nation. Naturalized, they soon came to feel for this unusual country an affection even greater, perhaps, than that of the native nobility. Both bishops and warlike leaders were needed to assist in the reorganization of the lands conquered from the Moors, and the French were welcomed as coming from the land which stood foremost in the European culture of the time. These foreigners brought in architects and builders from their own country and placed at their disposal means by which they might rival the finest buildings at home. Each important structure became a centre from which the new style spread, and the master-builders of the country soon learned to avail themselves of the Gothic forms and build magnificent cathedrals without the aid of the foreigners. But other avenues of approach also existed. The Cistercian monks had prepared the country for the new style: early in the Thirteenth Century they had built great monasteries of the reformed order. In Aragon we know of relations which the Counts of Barcelona maintained with Provence and Languedoc and

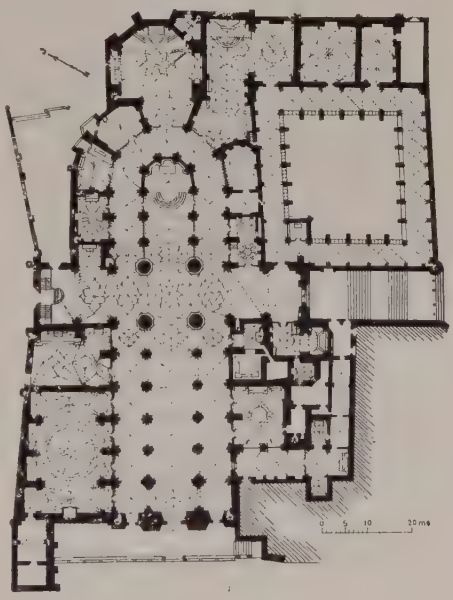

Fig. 641. — Plan of the cathedral of Burgos.

Fig. 642. — Apse of the cathedral of Leon.

the intimacy of the Catalan bishops with those of Narbonne, Albi, Toulouse and the like. In the kingdoms of Castile and Leon the Galician school prepared the way for the reception of Provençal styles, and royal marriages contracted with princesses of the houses of Anjou, Burgundy and Plantagenet facilitated the introduction of French tastes which led to the production of the finest works of Gothic art. All this occurred so rapidly that a number of the Spanish cathedrals are older even than some of the most famous Gothic temples of France. We also find in Spain transition monuments executed by local masters who were not yet entirely familiar with the new technique. In many of them the plan and the arrangement of the supporting elements are Romanesque, but when the builders came to the vault, they completed the structure after the manner of the Gothic architects. Another circumstance which should be noted before we begin our study of the pointed architecture of Spain is that we find regional groups of marked diversity of style. In the territories comprised by the Kingdom of Aragon, particularly in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Isles, the Gothic edifices of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries are constructed in the style peculiar to Provence and Aquitaine, while in Castile and Leon in central Spain and in the north the monuments of this period follow the local schools of the Ile-de-France, Anjou and Burgundy, lands with which the kings of Castile maintained close relations. We shall begin our study of these regional groups with the latter, that of Castile and Leon, for it came first and its style is the purer of the two.

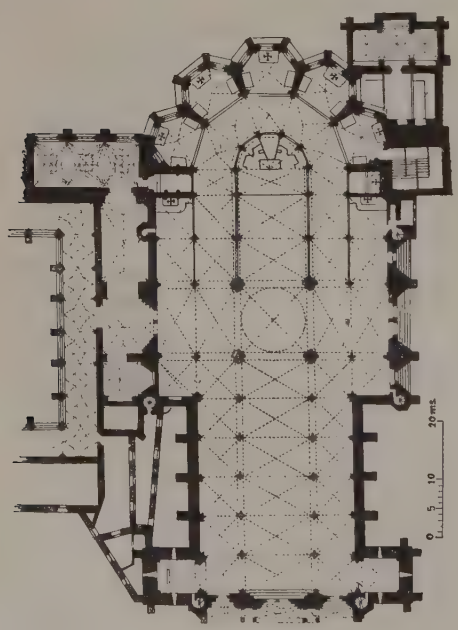

Fig. 643. — Plan of the cathedral of Leon.

In Castile, the cathedrals of Avila, Sigüenza and Ciudad-Rodrigo

belong to the transition period. They were begun in the Romanesque style and their builders were overtaken by the new fashion which they adopted in constructing their vaults. The first two also have something of the character of a fortress. That of Sigüenza has a façade flanked by two towers which seem to crush the three doorways. In the cathedral of Avila the apse has an even more accentuated military character. The chapels are set into a thick semicircular wall composed of massive blocks of stone. It also has three stories defended by battlements, for it really forms a bastion of the city-wall. These cathedrals at Sigüenza and Avila were begun during the Twelfth Century, but as the work progressed slowly, their interiors were not finished until the Gothic style had become the fashion.

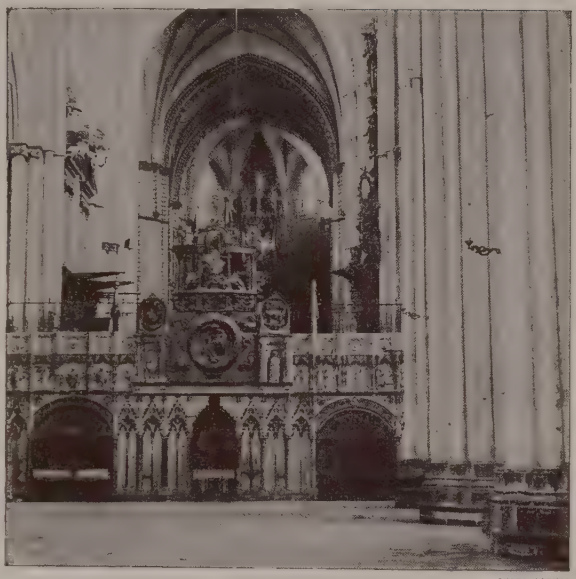

PHOTO ASENJO

Fig. 644. — Interior of the cathedral of Toledo.

The cathedral of Ciudad-Rodrigo, in which the tastes and technique of the Cistercians predominated at the beginning, was also commenced in the Twelfth Century. Before it was finished, however, it was covered with vaults of a purely Gothic character, while the reënforcing arches supporting them are still of the massive ogival construction characteristic of Cistercian architecture (figs. 638 and 639).

The cathedrals of Cuenca, Burgos and Leon are typical examples of the imported Gothic style. Their presence in the heart of Spain can be explained only by the fact that their construction coincided with the marriage of Alfonso VIII to a Plantagenet princess of a family which belonged in the French territory of Normandy. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand the presence of a vault like those of the transition period in Normandy,

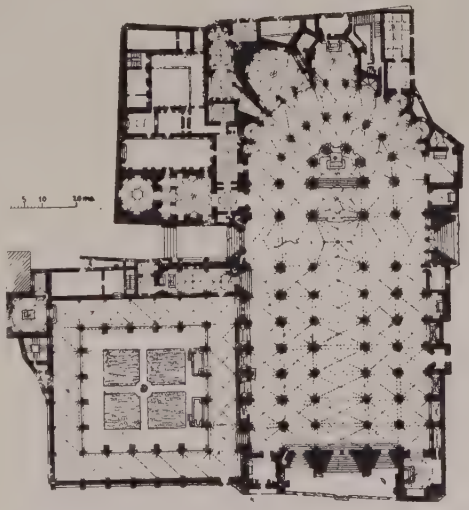

Fig. 645. — Plan of the cathedral of Toledo.

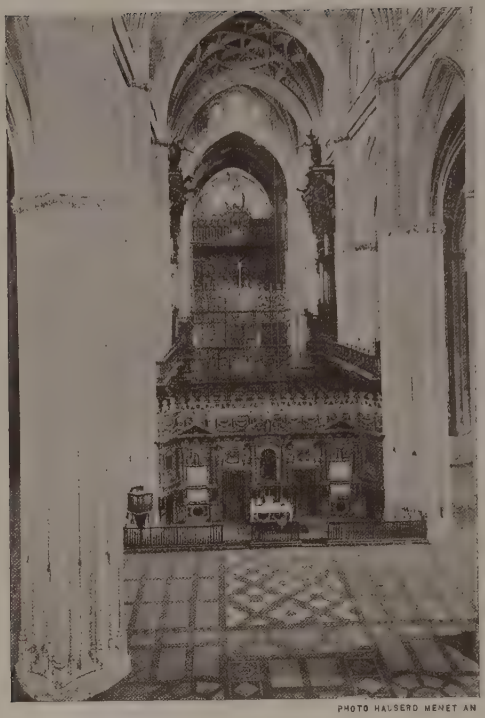

Fig. 646. — Nave of the cathedral of Seville.

a highly ornate triforium with angel-figures serving as pillars, and an extremely rich balcony of fretted stone. Above the crossing is a square tower characteristic of the Norman school.

The cathedral of Burgos is unquestionably a purely Gothic work, although it is now almost buried beneath an accumulation of later decorations which have been added as time went on.

Don Mauricio, the bishop of Burgos who founded the cathedral, had at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century been in command of the mission sent to bring back Beatrice of Swabia, the affianced wife of King Ferdinand III. His long journey through France and Germany at a time when so many Gothic cathedrals were being constructed, no doubt, inspired the good bishop with a desire to replace the old cathedral of Burgos by a monument worthy of the leading church of Castile. Bishop Mauricio and the king laid the corner-stone of the new building in 1221, and when the former died in 1238, the work was sufficiently far advanced for him to be buried in the apse with great ceremony. The plan of this cathedral offers no unusual complications. It is composed of a nave and two aisles; about the apse is an ambulatory with chapels; and there are no aisles in the transepts. The central piers are very massive, as in the Romanesque churches, in order to sustain the weight of the octagonal tower which lighted the church. On the façade are two more towers. The exterior, which has not been altered by later additions as has the interior, has the aspect of a French cathedral of good Gothic style. The nave and aisles are strengthened by a skilful combination of buttresses and lighted by large mullioned windows almost completely filling the wall-space, as in the churches of the northern countries where there is not the bright light which we find in Spain (figs. 640 and 641).

In the cathedral of Leon the interior is not loaded down with later embellishments, and its exterior produces the effect of a French cathedral (figs. 642 and 643). The architect is unknown, but it seems likely that he was a foreigner. In any case, the cathedral of Leon plainly belongs to the same class as those of Rheims and Amiens; although that of Leon is somewhat smaller, is more magnificent than the cathedral of Amiens, which it greatly resembles. It consists of a nave and two aisles, an ambulatory with chapels, and the lateral aisles cross the

Fig. 647. — Cloister of the cathedral of Ciudad-Rodrigo. Walk built in the Thirteenth Century.

transepts. Above the arches of the nave runs a triforium of good and simple design and over it, a clerestory entirely too ample for the bright atmosphere of Spain. Its exterior is not as richly decorated as the French cathedrals; the towers of the façade are somewhat too plain and are not as good as those of the French models from which they are derived.

The cathedral of Toledo may be the work of a Spaniard, although we know nothing more of him than the fact that he was called Petrus Petri (Pedro Pérez) and was the architect of the holy church of Santa Maria at Toledo. His reputation and antecedents are highly spoken of in an inscription in the cathedral. We may well ask ourselves who was this Petrus Petri who displayed such daring and originality in the planning of the cathedral at Toledo. French scholars, naturally, believe him to be that Pierre de Corbie who, *inter se disputando,* drew in the album of Villard de Honnecourt the plan of an apse very similar to that of the cathedral of Toledo (fig. 572). In Spain they prefer to consider him a local architect who planned the most highly esteemed monument of his native land. As a matter of fact, the plan and arrangement of the cathedral of Toledo have certain peculiarities which indicate that its builder was of a more independent spirit than most of the architects who came from across the Pyrenees. This church is not worked out, like those of Leon and Burgos, by means of slender piers which depend upon the buttresses outside for their strength. Here, on the contrary, they are thick and massive, and the system of buttresses is reduced to a minimum. The nave and four aisles are of unequal height, rising one above

Fig. 648.—Cloister of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

the other toward the centre, all of which goes far toward resisting the lateral thrust. Both aisles are continued round the apse, forming a double absidal-aisle which gives an extraordinary effect. All along the nave are large mullioned windows and in the transepts as well, so the church is brightly lighted. The colors of the old stained glass windows are exquisite and bring to the interior a luminous atmosphere which beautifies the countless sculptures, tombs, pictures and jewels with which the cathedral was enriched during those glorious centuries when Spain was the first power in Europe (figs. 644 and 645).

If the cathedrals of Avila, Sigüenza and Ciudad-Rodrigo are examples of the transition period, those of Burgos, Leon and Toledo illustrate the importation of the pure French Gothic style in the Thirteenth Century, and the cathedrals of Salamanca, Seville and Granada exemplify in an interesting manner the peculiar character assumed by Gothic art in Castile during the last part of the Fifteenth Century. We know the names of some of the Flemish and German masters who contributed to the formation of the new art. Egas, for example, who was a native of Flanders, was an architect at Toledo when he was summoned with many others to give his opinion on a suitable plan for the new cathedral at Salamanca, which the chapter together with King Ferdinand the Catholic were proposing to erect. The building was not completed until the end of the Eighteenth Century, but it is, generally speaking, an excellent example of the Spanish Gothic influenced by German tastes. The bases of the columns are a complicated assemblage of mouldings, and the vaults are covered with a delicate network of ribs in which the original and logical use of this feature seems entirely forgotten. On the outside, the towers and pinnacles are covered with ornamentation, although it is all arranged with an orderly and exquisite taste.

The cathedral of Granada was built in the same style: we find it everywhere as a result of the new taste. In the cathedral of Burgos they built the so-called Chapel of the Condestable, a masterpiece of this complicated art; nevertheless, it is sound architecture, and its wealth of decoration possesses an elegance that is prophetic of the plateresque style, a genuinely Spanish product.

There still remains to be described one of the most unusual of the cathedrals of Spain. This is the one at Seville. It was begun in 1402 to take the place of the old mosque which had been converted into a Christian church and was

Fig. 649. — Cloister of the Cathedral of Ciudad-Rodrigo.

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Fig. 650.—Cathedral of Lerida.
Capitals in the nave.

now threatening to fall into ruin. We are familiar with the resolution of the chapter "to build it so well and in such a manner that there should never be another equal to it, even though posterity might think them mad." This immense cathedral still follows the forms of the French Gothic, but its arrangement is most original and quite unlike anything else of the sort. The nave and four aisles are flanked on either side by a line of chapels which really constitute two more aisles, so we have what amounts to a nave and six aisles altogether. The nave is much higher than the lateral aisles, which are all of equal height. The thrust of the former is arrested by two tiers of buttresses which are low and almost entirely concealed by the chapels. The structure terminates in a plain apse with no deambulatory about it, because perhaps of the work having been interrupted (fig. 646).

In addition to these more important monuments which we have briefly described, it might be well to mention some of the many remaining Gothic cathedrals which were built in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, such as those of Burgo de Osma and Palencia, the one at Oviedo which replaced the old Basílica del Salvador, those of Calahorra, Astorga, Alcalá, Bilbao, etc. To many of these a cloister was added, its windows decorated with open work in stone. At times the appearance of these cloisters has been much altered by opening new chapels and by the later addition of tombs of another style, but they never cease to be a characteristic feature of a Spanish cathedral. The great French cathedrals lost their cloisters at an early period; even before the Revolution many of them had been destroyed by the cathedral chapters. But in Spain the cloisters, begun with the cathedral itself, were continually enriched and improved. In the cathedral of Ciudad-Rodrigo it is most instructive to contrast the gallery of the cloister which is purely Cistercian with the others which belong to the last phase of Gothic architecture (figs. 647 and 649). Even in a Romanesque structure like the cathedral of Santiago we find a Sixteenth Century Gothic cloister (fig. 648).

In the territories of the Confederacy of Aragon and Catalonia the Gothic style takes on a somewhat different character. Here the climate is less severe than that of Central Spain and the steep gables of those regions are not required. The churches are covered with flat roofs and the spaces between the vaults are filled with concrete and rubble. The buttresses are reduced to a minimum, and the thrust of the vaults is arrested by the interior walls separating the chapels.

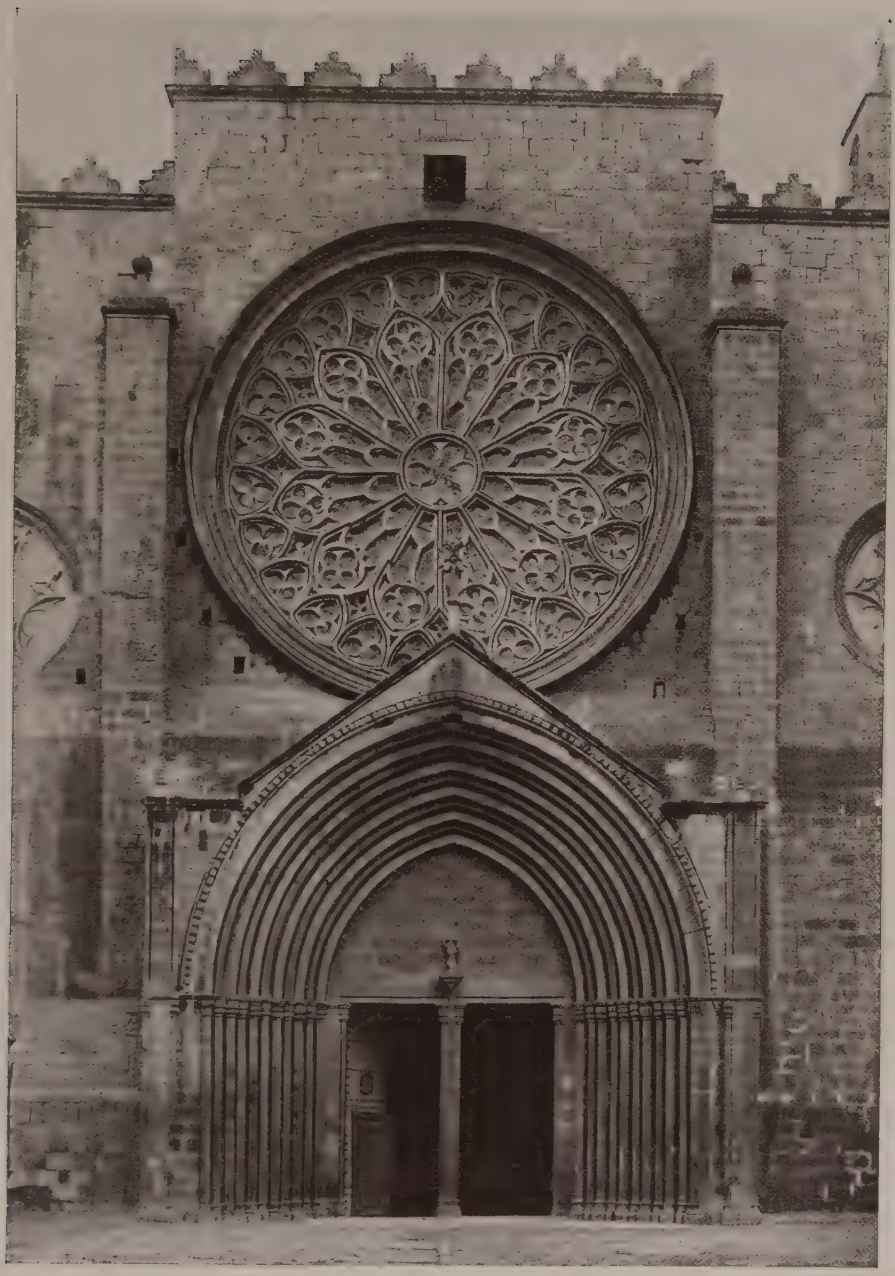

Fig. 651. — Façade of the Monastic Church of San Cugat del Vallés.

Fig. 652. — Interior view of the rose window of San Cugat del Vallés.

All this gives the churches of this school a rather plain appearance from the outside, but within they possess a certain elegant serenity and austerity which are more in keeping with a place of worship than even the monuments of the Castilian school. The vaults are simpler, and the complicated network of ribs appeared only during the last years of the Gothic period, when all the great cathedrals had been completed. An efficient arrangement of wooden ceilings above the reënforcing arches is characteristic of many of these Catalan churches; indeed, both their models and structural technique were taken from the South of France where we find marked Italian influences. In Aragon and Catalonia there are no examples of importation of the Gothic types of Northern France as in the case of the cathedrals of Leon and Cuenca. The transition buildings were, first of all, those executed in accordance with the well established traditions of the Cistercian monks. The cathedral of Lerida is a masterpiece of this mature art, in which we find all the grace and delicacy of ornamentation of the last years of the Romanesque period. It is composed of a nave and two aisles with a cupola above the crossing. Already we find the composite columns (figure 650) which seem a prophecy of the ribbed vault. The main façade, now destroyed, opened upon a cloister which formed a spacious narthex. This monumental portico of the cathedral of Lerida must have been a most delightful feature, for the building is set upon the top of a mountain, and one of the galleries of the cloister still opens

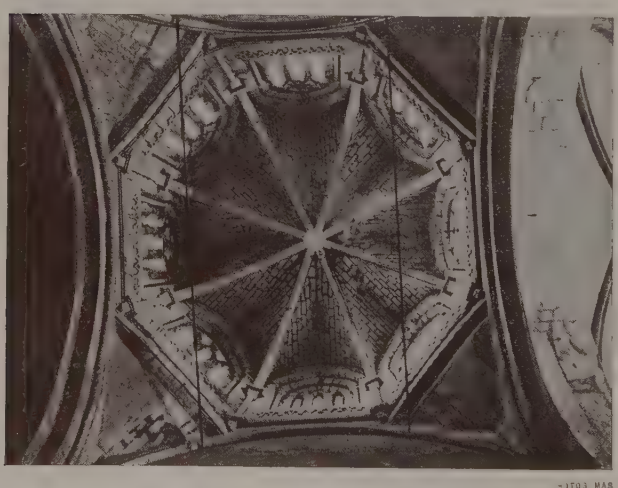

Fig. 653. — Cupola of the Church of San Cugat del Vallés.

upon the steep slope and overlooks the plain of the Segre.

Another Cistercian church which was completed during the Gothic period is that of the monastery of San Cugat del Vallés. In the façade is a large portal, its beveled sides covered with mouldings, and above is a beautiful rose window (figs. 651 and 652). In the interior the vaults begin to change, commencing with the apse which is the oldest part of the structure, and ending with the façade which is the latest. The cupola is octagonal and is strengthened by ribs (fig. 653). The cathedral of Tarragona is also a Cistercian building which was overtaken by the Gothic style. The apse is still covered by a semi-dome without any ribs. There is no ambulatory but an octagonal tower over the crossing characteristic of the great monastic churches of the Romanesque period. On the piers are heavy mouldings which correspond to the ribs of the vaults. The nave is much higher than the two aisles and is supported laterally by very plain rectangular buttresses. The value of the cathedral of Tarragona lies in its sobriety and the simplicity of line found in its interior. It is one of the finest examples of the work of the transition period (fig. 654). On the other hand, it is one of the few Catalan monuments where the façade is completely Gothic. Usually these were left plain until the Renaissance, for the general lines of the Gothic façade could hardly be ap-

Fig. 654.— Interior of the Cathedral of Tarragona.

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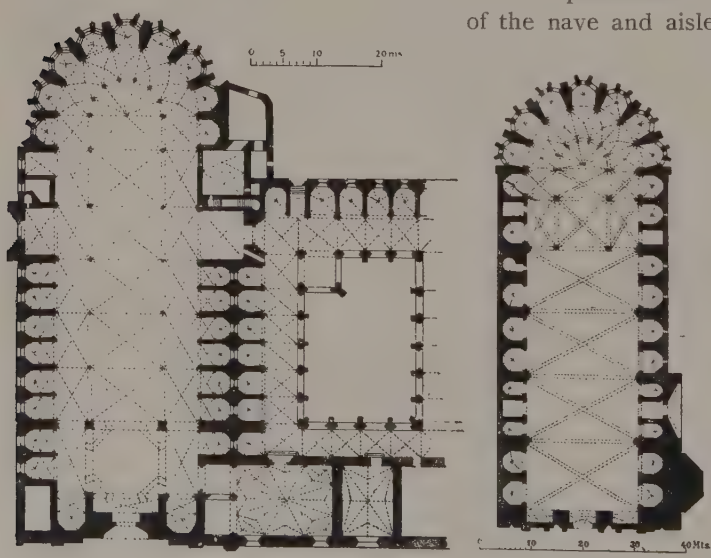
Fig. 655. — Interior of the Cathedral of Barcelona.

Fig. 656. — Interior of the Cathedral of Gerona.

plied to a church in which the gable-roof was lacking. The horizontal line along the top could not but disconcert the builders; consequently we find on the façade of the cathedral at Tarragona a triangular gable which does not correspond at all to the roof behind it. Its cloister, which is still Cistercian, is built on the same principle as that of the abbey of Fontfroide in Provence, from which so many of the monasteries of Catalonia were derived. The Cistercian monks of Santas Creus, who were also under those of Fontfroide, may have furnished the plan of the cloister of the cathedral of Tarragona and even directed the work as well.

Not only is the cathedral of Barcelona entirely Gothic, but the style has been completely nationalized. It consists of a nave, two aisles and a narrow ambulatory about the apse which appears to have been inspired by that of the cathedral of Narbonne, although the other Gothic forms of the structure are applied with the greatest originality. The crossing and transepts are little developed; over the short arms of the latter are two heavy towers. The cupola, instead of being above the crossing, is at the end of the church, a novelty entirely without precedent. The arrangement of the nave and aisles is very skilful, the latter being almost as high as the former. The chapels are low, but above them extend galleries which are like two moreaisles. The chapels are ingeniously separated by transverse walls which serve as interior buttresses, and the bays of the galleries above the



Figs. 657 and 658. — Plans of the Cathedrals of Barcelona and Gerona.

chapels permit a greater height to the lateral aisles, which gives the entire interior of the structure an extraordinary unity (fig. 655).

All this contributes much to the original character of the monument, for the lighting system depends upon it. The light comes through the windows in the outer walls, across the galleries, and filters through the columns which separate the nave from the aisles. In its color and general atmosphere, this cathedral contrasts strongly with those of Castile, where the illumination is excessive. In the latter we find a type of structure suited rather to the northern countries. The cathedral of Barcelona was copied in other Catalonian monuments, particularly in the cathedral of Manresa and the church of Santa Maria del Mar, which is a beautiful example of simplicity of construction. The careful engineering displayed in the last is the more remarkable, when we consider the small size of the buttresses which arrest the entire thrust of the nave and aisles.

Fig. 659. — Apse of the cathedral of Gerona.

The cathedral of Gerona has an apse-aisle which is very similar to that of the cathedral of Barcelona, although on a somewhat smaller scale (figs. 657 and 658). It is evident that the canons of Gerona were producing a smaller copy of the Barcelona cathedral; but when it was seen that it was becoming nothing more than a lesser imitation, the architect, Guillem Bofill, decided to abandon the two lateral aisles already indicated by the character of the apse and to cover the entire structure with a single vault which would be 75 feet wide, 111 feet high and 164 feet long. The chapter, before adopting his proposition, called a consultation of the best known architects of the country, and some even came from Narbonne

Fig. 660. — Apse of the cathedral of Palma de Mallorca, showing the Capilla Mayor and the Chapel of the Trinity.

Fig. 661.—Belfry of San Felix de Gerona.

across the French frontier. Five of these men agreed with Bofill, and seven were for going on with the original plan which was perfectly safe and offered nothing new. Nevertheless, the bishop and chapter rejected the majority opinion and supported Bofill in his daring project. The result is that we have in the cathedral of Gerona the widest Gothic nave ever covered by a stone vault. Bofill was also more or less successful in solving the difficult problem of attaching a triple apse to a single nave. Above the arches in which the apse-aisle terminated he inserted rose windows in the wall to lighten its weight (fig. 656). The last Catalan cathedral was that of Tortosa, but it is not unworthy of its predecessors. The western portion of the nave and aisles recalls the cathedral of Barcelona. There is an apse-aisle, and the chapels opening off it are separated from one another by open work in stone instead of a solid wall. The light filtering through these partitions produces a most charming effect. On the exterior are rather unusual arches, raised against the wall and supported by octagonal turrets. On the apse particularly, where they are set more close to one another, the originality of this feature is most apparent.

In Palma de Mallorca the cathedral begun by Jaime II presents all the features of Gothic architecture. The columns between the nave and aisles are tall and slender. Now that the choir has been removed from the centre of the church, their bold height may be plainly seen. There is no gallery above the low chapels, so the buttresses, instead of being on the inside as at Barcelona, appear on the exterior of the building (fig. 660). The most novel feature of this cathedral is the apse which ends in a straight line, and beyond it is a spacious rectangular chapel as wide as the nave itself. This chapel, however, is lower than the nave and leaves room above it for a large rose window, which lights the church from its farther end. Behind this chapel is still another smaller one like an absidiole, which is called the Chapel of the Trinity. It is well lighted, and as its floor

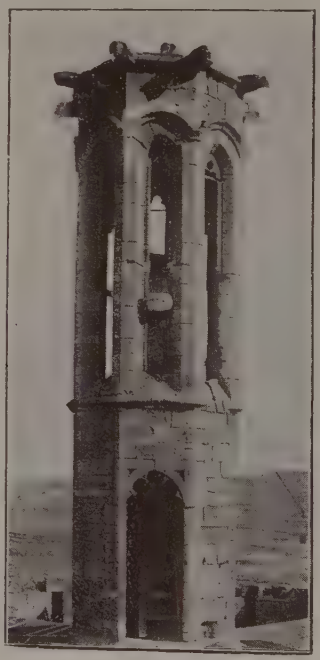


Fig. 662.—Belfry of Santa Coloma de Queralt.

Fig. 663. — Cloister of the cathedral of Barcelona.

Fig. 664.—Doorway of the palace of the Municipal Council. BARCELONA.

Fig. 665.—Doorway of the Hospital de la Latina. MADRID.

is higher than that of the main church, it can be seen from every part like a lofty inner sanctuary. It has been said that this chapel was intended to be a sort of royal tribune communicating with the palace.

The cathedral of Valencia also falls within the group of Catalonian Gothic churches. Although its interior is much disfigured by Renaissance alterations, the structure of the nave and aisles is still plainly seen. The apse-aisles and transepts are small. As it stands today, the most characteristic portion of this cathedral is the exterior, where many Gothic elements have been preserved. The belfry, called the Miguelete, is an octagonal tower. It is ornamented only with windows and little pinnacles on its upper portion, which are characteristic of this eastern Gothic school of architecture. The stone spire is also found in other Catalan bell-towers, such as that of San Felix de Gerona (fig. 661) and those of the ruined convent of Santa Catalina at Barcelona. As a rule, however, they terminate in a flat roof which harmonizes better with that of the church itself. These belfries of Catalonia, with their compact rectangular outline (fig. 662), have a beauty all their own, unlike as they are to the sharp spires of the French cathedrals. The ca-

thedral of Barcelona is surmounted by two magnificent bell-towers over the transepts. There is one above the Royal Chapel of Santa Agueda and another on the church of Santa Maria del Pi.

Something of this Catalan style is to be seen even in the cathedral of Saragossa or the Seo. This church was altered several times even in the Gothic period, till its plan became almost a square with its nave and four aisles. The vaults are a network of ribs. Catalan influences are also found in the kingdom of Murcia, which was conquered in the reign of Jaime I.

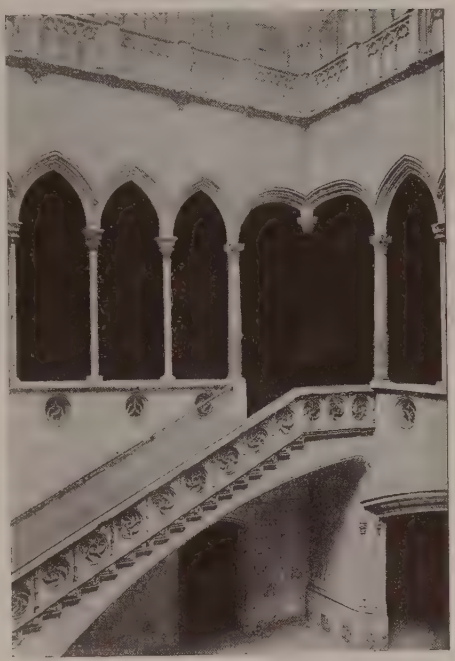


Fig. 666. — Stairway of the Generalidad of Catalonia. BARCELONA.

Most of the cathedrals of Eastern Spain have a cloister. The climate favored these courts set beside the cathedrals. They were open to the public. We have already noted that the cloisters of the cathedrals of Lerida and Tarragona were built in the Cistercian style. Those at Gerona and Tortosa are older than the cathedrals themselves; that of the former is purely Romanesque. The cloister of the Barcelona Cathedral (fig. 663) harmonizes well with the church, forming an integral part

Figs. 667 and 668. — Façade and interior of the Lonja at Valencia.

Fig. 669. — Lonja at Palma de Mallorca.

of the building and displaying entirely the same spirit. Nevertheless, they date from two distinct periods; the portion containing the Fountain of San Jorge recalls the monastery cloisters in which there was a fountain for washing the hands directly in front of the refectory. It dates from the middle of the Fifteenth Century, and the vault is covered with a network of ribs. Connected with the cathedral of Vich is another splendid cloister; its arcades are closed with open work of stone.

We have noted the stylistic differences between the cathedrals of Central Spain and those of the territory subject to the Confederacy of Catalonia and Aragon. They were all the work of lay-architects and of the people. In monastic buildings, however, a greater unity exists, although they too were influenced by the artistic currents which manifested themselves in the great cathedrals. In discussing the Cistercian buildings, we have observed the general uniformity of type to which their monasteries adhered. They were constructed during the latter part of the Twelfth Century when Gothic architecture was already in process of formation; and the Cistercian monastery is the same in every country.

But we now see new religious orders appearing, the Franciscans and Dominicans. Although in Spain they neither had the vigor nor were as widely spread as were the Benedictine Cistercians in their time, nevertheless they built monasteries in every part of the Peninsula. In Barcelona the Dominican monastery of Santa Catalina possessed the largest and richest church in the whole city. In the views of Barcelona on the medals of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, we see the silhouette of the towers of Santa

Fig. 670. — Lonja and Casa-Ayuntamiento at Alcañiz.

Catalina and those of the cathedral, the most prominent feature of the city. This magnificent convent, together with that of the Franciscans which occupied an immense area near the sea, was destroyed so completely that hardly a trace of the buildings remains. In Palma de Mallorca the Franciscan church and cloister are still standing, but the monasteries of the mendicant orders, situated as they were in the cities, suffered greatly during the revolution.

The Premonstratensians also built some of their houses during the Gothic period; we might mention that of Bellpuig de las Avellanas in the Province of Lerida and those of Aguilar de Campóo and Santa Cruz de Ribas. The Carthusians founded enormous abbeys in Spain as well. Some of these are still characteristic, such as the Cartuja de Miraflores near Burgos, which was built well into the Fifteenth Century, and the monastery of Montalegre near Barcelona. The latter is entirely of baked brick after the Lombard taste, which is not extraordinary, when we consider the close relations existing between Aragon and Italy at that time and the interest taken in its construction by Alfonso V, who then resided at Naples.

Fig. 671. — Boundary-cross. TARRAGONA.

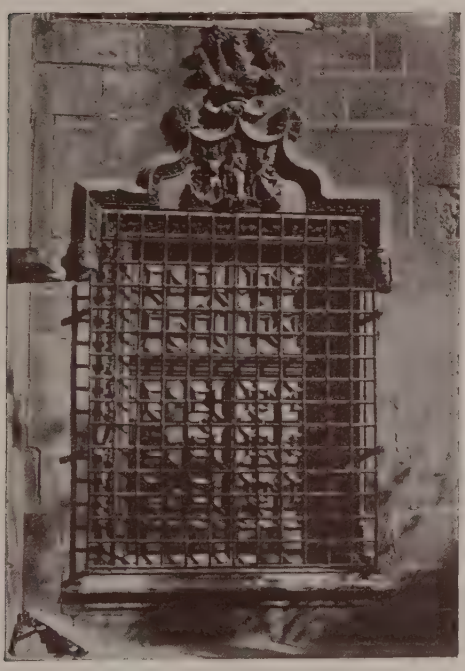


Fig. 672. — Sixteenth-century window. BARCELONA.

Turning to the civil and military architecture of the Gothic period, we again note the same differences in the styles of Central and Eastern Spain. In the former, the civil structures often reflect Arab influences. Their style is not as pure as that of the schools of Aragon and Catalonia. If we compare the façade of the palace of the Consejo Municipal at Barcelona (fig. 664) with that of the old Hospital de la Latina at Madrid (fig. 665), we see at once the different spirit with which the same theme has been interpreted in these two regions. Above the doorways of both are two shields and step-like mouldings; but at Barcelona the arch is round and the archivolt ornamented with Gothic leaves, while at Madrid the

Fig. 673. — Royal Gate. POBLET.

pointed doorway has a certain Moorish character.

We often detect the work of the Moriscos in the civil and military architecture of Spain. The oldest gates of Toledo show plain signs of the part taken by Moorish workmen. The castle of La Mota near Medina del Campo was evidently worked upon either by Moriscos or by artisans who were very familiar with the technique of the Moslem builders (fig. 676). The outer walls date from the Fifteenth Century. It was the residence of Ferdinand and Isabella whose arms still adorn the arch of the drawbridge. The famous castle of Coca is also partly Morisco work. It was rebuilt in the Fifteenth Century by the Fonseca family. This structure is almost entirely of brick and is defended by octagonal towers at the corners. Among the well known military works of Aragon built by Moorish labor are the towers of Teruel, which are bordered with brick and terra-cotta tiles of various colors. In Catalonia, however, there is less Morisco influence to be observed, indeed almost none at all.

Barcelona, although a member of the Aragonese Confederation, was a small republic in itself, and it needed a building to house its Council and administration, something like the municipal palace of an Italian city. The palace of the Consell de Cent (Council of One Hundred) at Barcelona has been much disfig-

Fig. 674. — Puerta de Cuarte. VALENCIA.

PHOTOS J. HOYOS

Fig. 675. — Puerta de Serranos. VALENCIA.

ured by later alterations. Nevertheless, it still retains the old façade (fig. 664), cloistered court and assembly hall. It had the customary Council Chapel, as did the municipal palaces of Siena, Florence and Perugia, but this was destroyed and its most interesting parts were scattered about the various districts of the city. Later, the Generalidad, which administered the government of all Catalonia, was constructed near the Municipal Palace at Barcelona. The Generalidad palace was begun during the last years of the Fifteenth Century and later was used for a long time as the High Courts. It is only recently that it has been restored to its original service. It has preserved the façade, the front court with its stairway (fig. 666) and another larger court communicating with the various dependencies. The Gothic façade of the chapel is still standing, but the interior is all Renaissance in style.

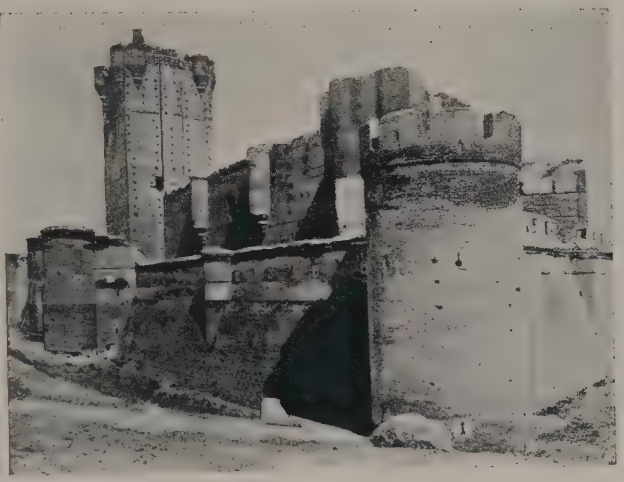


Fig. 676. — Castle of Mota. Medina del Campo.

Another type of civil building peculiar to the Catalan cities is the Lonja de Mar, or Vesselmen's Exchange; here charters and contracts were drawn up and admiralty law administered. Three of these are still in an excellent state of preservation: those of Valencia, Mallorca and Perpignan. Of the one at Barcelona, only the main hall remains, engulfed in the present neo-classical structure. Another Lonja seems to have existed at Messina, but only the chapel is preserved. These Exchanges came to be what the old basilica was in Roman times. There was a vast columned hall for the public with smaller apartments for the court and officials (figs. 667 and 668).

PHOTOS ARENJO

Fig. 677. — Castle of Coca. Segovia.

Figs. 678 and 679. — Exterior and court of the castle of Bellver. PALMA DE MALLORCA.

In addition to the structures for the use of the merchants and vessel-owners, the Catalan cities abounded in open porticos where the public assembled for business or pleasure, though they often were the property of some monastery or other religious organization. At Barcelona the most important of these porticos was that situated beside the palace of the Consejo Municipal and decorated with paintings, but it was destroyed when the Plaza de San Jaime was opened. There is another in front of the church of San Antonio, with three Gothic aisles open to the street; a similar one exists at Alcañiz at one side of the plaza (fig. 670).

Among the various public buildings we should mention the hospitals, which

Fig. 680. — The Castellet. PERPIGNAN.

Fig. 681. — Castle of Benisanó. VALENCIA.

were magnificent structures in Gothic times. The one at Barcelona, with its lofty halls covered with beams supported by pointed arches, has continued in use down to our own time, in spite of the remarkable growth of the city. In Gerona the handsome façade of the hospital called La Almoyna is still preserved with its large doorway covered by a round arch and ornamented with shields and other sculptures.

At Barcelona the kings of Aragon had two large palaces of which considerable remains have come down to us. One near the city-wall was the old castle of the Templars within the city, which was called the Palau Menor. It was composed of a series of halls lying around three sides of a court, the entrance to which was flanked by two towers. The other palace, the Palau Major, was situated near the cathedral. Only the doorway, the royal chapel and one of the halls remain. The latter has been converted into the monastery-church of Santa Clara. Both the Capilla Real and this hall are covered by an ingenious and efficient system of reënforcing arches which support the beams of the ceiling instead of studding. The beams

Fig. 682. — Main façade and tower of the castle of Benisanó.

Fig. 683. — Tomb of Pedro II, the Great.
Santas Creus.

of the palace-chapel at Barcelona, now called Santa Agueda, are gilded and decorated with paintings as are those of the hall of the Consell de Cent, of the castle of Peratallada and a number of others. (Plate XLIII.) The royal palace at Poblet seems to have had its ceilings decorated in the same manner. This building was begun by King Martin, but he did not complete it. We still see the springers of the large arches which were intended to support the beams. At Santas Creus, the royal palace still preserves some remains of its polychrome ceilings.

The more important private houses were also composed of halls set about a court. In the Catalan district, they were often around only three sides of the court, while on the fourth was a plain wall containing the door opening on the street. During the last part of the Fifteenth Century the doorways and windows were ornamented with complicated archivolts decorated with reliefs (fig. 672). Of a combined civil and religious character are the boundary crosses set up beside the highways at the city limits. These crosses are almost all very similar; there is a pedestal, a column and a large capital, usually adorned with a little statue of one of the apostles, supporting the cross (fig. 671).

Turning to military architecture, we see that in Eastern Spain they did not build the mighty city walls during the Gothic period which we find at Avignon and Aigues-Mortes in France. But we have monumental gateways like those of the Puerta Real at Poblet (fig. 673), the smaller gate of the wall enclosing the monastery of Pedralbes and the magnificent gates of Valencia (figs. 674 and 675). This type of gate flanked by towers was common in the Roman camps; we find it giving access to the walled enclosure at Carcassonne. In the Gothic period, however, the towers are much enlarged. Behind its doors and embrasures are the stairways leading to the different stories and terraces. In exceptional cases we find a single tower pierced by the entrance, as in the Torre del Conde at Centellas. A handsome tower of this sort also defended the bridge at Balaguer.

In Catalonia the Gothic castles are often superimposed upon older Romanesque foundations and are generally in a poor state of preservation. In that of

Arch and polychrome ceiling of the castle of Peratallada. CATALONIA.

Gabrény, near Lerida, which belonged to the Templars, the vaulted halls and chapels are still almost intact. The castles of Perelada and Requesens are among the most important in Catalonia, and the ruined castle of Pollensa in Mallorca is also worthy of mention. That of Bellver, at Palma, is a royal palace rather than a castle (figs. 678 and 679). It was constructed in the reign of Jaime II of Mallorca by an architect named Pedro Salvá and is located on a pine clad hill near the entrance to the harbor. Both the plan and the large central court are of circular form; around the latter extends an elegant cloister of two stories. From the circular ground-plan, only the great cylindrical tower defending the entrance stands out. The royal palace of Perpignan is the same type of fortified residence; it, too, is the work of the kings of Mallorca to whom Jaime I bequeathed the district of Rousillon. In both the palace of Perpignan and the castle of Bellver, we find the same arrangement of a central court surrounded by a two-storied arcade, like a cloister, which leads to the various apartments. Both structures are used today as barracks. At Perpignan we still find the curious building called the Castellet, which is nothing more than one of the gates. Projecting on one side is an octagonal tower, and on the other, a small fortress, or castle, both of which defend the passage (fig. 680).

Fig. 684.—Tomb of Jaime II. Santas Creus.

Later, about the middle of the Fifteenth Century, the castles take on more the character of residences, and their walls and towers with barbicans become purely ornamental. The perilous times were over, and nobles and barons enjoyed large halls and broad windows incompatible with the defence system of the previous century. The walls were converted into terraces, and the merlons became merely decorations. The castle of Vilasar in Catalonia is typical of this period, and the same is true of the castle of Benisanó in Valencia, which rises from its walled enclosure. Here the palace is rectangular, with a high tower in the centre (figs. 681 and 682).

The finer tombs should also be mentioned. Most of the kings of Aragon were buried in the monastery of Poblet. But Pedro I was interred at Sigena, and

Fig. 685. — Recumbent statues of King Charles and Queen Eleanor. *(Cathedral of Pamplona.)*

Pedro II and Jaime II in Santas Creus. The royal tombs at Poblet were set upon small Gothic arches in the crossing of the church. These formed a sort of platform and supported the sarcophagi, each of which was sheltered by a marble canopy. Above these marble tombs were statues of the kings, the work of Pedro Moragas, a sculptor and goldsmith of Barcelona. These royal sepulchres were barbarously mutilated during the revolution of 1835. The stone canopies have disappeared, and the marble coffins are so badly broken as to be hardly recognizable,

James II and Pedro II, who were buried at Santas Creus, were more fortunate in their resting place. The covers of the sarcophagi were pierced and the tombs violated, it is true, but the canopies still remain intact. Pedro II, the Great, who conquered Sicily, is interred in a coffin of antique red porphyry which was probably brought from Italy (fig. 683). Jaime II and his wives rest in a Gothic sarcophagus covered with portrait statues (fig. 684).

The tombs of the Romanesque period were really continued, only Gothic forms being added. A sarcophagus was set into a vaulted niche in the wall or beneath the pavement of the church and covered with an inscribed slab of stone often carved in relief. The sarcophagus is also frequently sculptured with the portrait figure of the deceased on the cover; on the front is a funeral scene, and at the feet a mastiff, the symbol of fidelity. In front of the tomb we often find represented a group of monks with

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Fig. 686. — Statue of Isabella of Portugal. *(Cartuja de Miraflores.)* BURGOS.

their prior intoning a responsive chant. Toward the end of the Fifteenth Century we find some of these sarcophagi ornamented with little niches containing weeping figures.

The tombs of Castile are like those of Aragon and Catalonia except for the various differences of style peculiar to each region. The sepulchres prepared by Alfonso the Wise for his father, St. Ferdinand, and his mother, Doña Beatriz, in the cathedral of Seville must have been very similar to those of Santas Creus, except that they were done in gold instead of marble; the portrait statues were seated figures; and the sarcophagi under their canopies were covered with plates of silver which were decorated with repoussé shields. The royal tombs in Seville Cathedral were destroyed in the reign of Pedro the Cruel.

PHOTO ROIG

Fig. 687. — Tomb of Juan de Padilla.
(Museum of Burgos.)

These royal sepulchres at Seville were an exception. St. Ferdinand was buried there because he had conquered the city from the Moors. Most of the kings of Castile were interred in the cathedral of Toledo or in the monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos. Although the latter sepulchre can be viewed only through an iron grating, the monastery being strictly cloistered, some of them are seen to consist of sarcophagi supported by brackets carved to resemble lions. Some of the recumbent statues of the royal tombs are works of unusual beauty (figs. 685 and 686).

We also find the vaulted niche in the wall in Castile; it is often decorated Moorish work. One of the finest Castilian monuments of this sort is that of Juan de Padilla from the monastery of Fres-del-Val, now in the Museum of Burgos (fig. 687). The noble page kneels upon the coffin before a prie-dieu and in the background is a small altar with a Descent from the Cross. On the front of the coffin are angels holding the Padilla coat-of-arms.

The sculptural ornamentation, which in the earlier cathedrals of Leon, Burgos and Toledo was purely a French imitation, takes on more and more of the national character and the local spirit of the various parts of the Peninsula. In the Catalan district, it is simple and precise, with a very restricted repertory of plant forms; but these are arranged between the mouldings with a clarity and

Fig. 688.—Fragments of the altar at Vich. *(Museo Episcopal.)*

Fig. 689.—Palace of the Generalidad. St. George and the dragon. BARCELONA.

order which often augment their beauty. Two excellent examples of Catalan Gothic decoration are the fragments of the high altar of Vich Cathedral, the work of Pere Oller (fig. 688), and the ornamental sculpture on the façade of the Generalidad at Barcelona. The latter contains a medallion representing St. George and the dragon carved by Pere Johan (fig. 689). Another typical Catalan decorative sculpture, although the composition is not so good, is the relief on the doorway of the palace of King Martin at Poblet. Here two angels support the shield, and two lions rampant, the crown, while the cabbage-leaves traditional in this style fill the remainder of the field, although they contain no allusion to the central motive (fig. 690). Very beautiful, also, is the screen in the cathedral of Palma with its angel musicians carved in relief.

Fig. 690.—Relief on the doorway of the palace of King Martin at Poblet.

We will follow our survey of Spanish architecture and decoration with an examination of the sculpture and painting of the Peninsula. In Central Spain the French architects of the cathedrals of Leon and Burgos were, no doubt, accompanied by sculptors and deco-

Fig. 691. — Altar from Anglesola. *(Boston Museum.)*

rators who repeated here the fixed types of the land where all Gothic art originated. The school which grew up around them did little to change the various elements of the traditional repertory. In the Coronation of the Virgin, for example, she is seated at the side of the Saviour accompanied by two kneeling angels with candles. This theme reappears in the cathedrals of Leon and at Toro precisely as we have already noted it at Paris, Amiens and Chartres. The Adoration of the Kings, on the other hand, in the cathedral of Pamplona, although it is the work of Jacques Perut, a French artist, is already somewhat altered (fig. 692). Little by little Spanish sculptors freed themselves from French influences and formed Gothic schools of their own which varied according to the country, for Spain was then composed of a number of nations. In the cathedrals of Catalonia we find fewer sculptures than in those of Castile; only the Virgin, still quite French, on the central column of the main entrance of the cathedral of Tarragona can really be considered a work of art. The accompanying apostles already have a certain vulgarity. The sculptors of this work, however, were Bartomeu and Jaime Castayls, good Catalan names. The sandstone of the cathedral of Barcelona is unsuitable for monumental sculpture. At Gerona the apostles make a late appearance on one of the lateral doors, but these are even more vulgarly executed than at Tarragona.

Fig. 692.—Adoration of the Kings. *(Cathedral of Pamplona.)*

Nevertheless, there were in Catalonia Gothic sculptors well worthy of being compared with those of France. The Virgen de la Merced in Barcelona, which dates from the Thirteenth Century, is a beautiful seated figure of the French type, but it still reflects the spirit of Catalonia. At Palma two great masters, Guillem Sagrera and Pere Morey, decorated the Puerta del Mar of the cathedral.

A school of sculpture seems to have been formed at Poblet, when the royal burial place was decorated by Pedro el Ceremonioso. Also, the fact that close by the monastery were the quarries of Las Borjas with their smooth compact limestone facilitated the production of many sculptural works, for both the monastery itself and the churches and castles of the plain of Urgel and Conca de Barberá. Perhaps the finest piece carved from the limestone of Las Borjas is the altar of Anglesola, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 691).

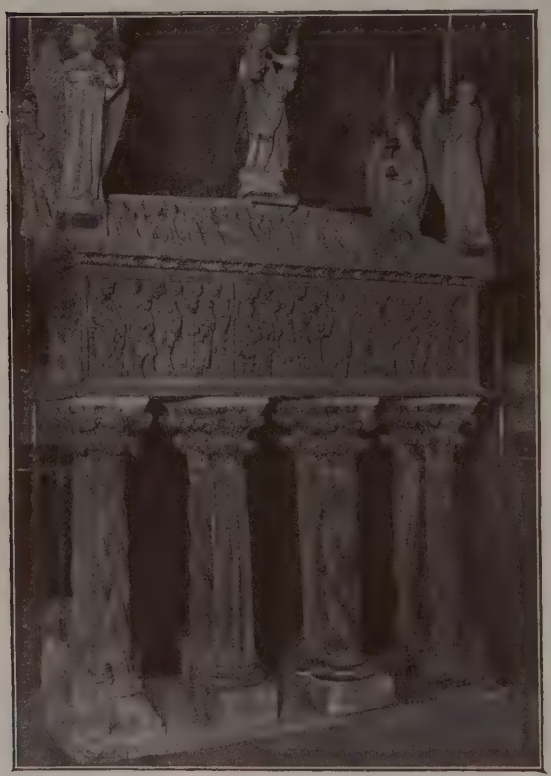

PHOTO THOMAS

Fig. 693.—Casket of Santa Eulalia.
(Cathedral of Barcelona.)

Belonging to the middle Fourteenth Century is the polychrome alabaster statue in the treasury of the cathedral of Gerona, supposed to be that of Charlemagne. (Plate XLIV.) It is probably the statue of one of the kings of Aragon, for it bears his arms on the sash and armour. Possibly it represents Pedro el Ceremonioso; we know that he ordered a number of statues of his illustrious predecessors. At the feet of the figure is a monster with a number of bodies and heads upon which the monarch stands trium-

Polychrome alabaster statue representing one of the kings of Aragon.
(Cathedral of Gerona.)

phant. This may well commemorate the sedition at Valencia which was suppressed by this king, or his victory over the anarchy of the Union of which he boasts in his chronicle.

Another important sculptural monument in Catalonia is the casket containing the relics of Santa Eulalia in the cathedral at Barcelona (figure 693). The influence of Pisan art is very evident in the reliefs and the angel figures which adorn it. Nevertheless, it is quite Catalan in spirit. Although the identity of the artist is unknown, there is nothing to lead us to believe that he was a native of Italy. More and more data are being collected in the archives regarding the artists who worked in Catalonia, and we see that although they were responsive to the artistic currents of France and Italy, down to the end of the Fifteenth Century, they were all Catalans. We learn from the documents that the Virgin of Solsona and that of la Merced were the work of Catalan sculptors, also the tombs at Poblet. The same seems to be true of the statues after the French style on the tomb of Jaime II at Santas Creus, that of Elisenda de Moncada in Pedralbes and the "Charlemagne" at Gerona. Even the supposed Pisan artist who carved the casket of Santa Eulalia at Barcelona was probably a Catalan as well.

Fig. 694.—St. George. Silver statuette. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Fig. 695.—The Virgen de las Batallas. *(Cathedral of Seville.)*

The last Gothic sculpture of Catalonia is the St. George done in silver in the chapel of the Generalidad (fig. 694). This Cappadocian Greek saint has become a Catalan citizen who has just put on armour, and is still unfamiliar with the lance with which he is to slay the fearful creature twisting at his feet.

As the Castilian Royal Archives have been burned, and those of the cathedrals are inaccessible to scholars, we have not the inexhaustible documentary sources which exist in Barcelona in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. The first Gothic statue in Castile, besides the figures on the cathedrals, is probably the Virgen de las Batallas, which St. Ferdinand is supposed to have carried with him and is today in the cathedral of Seville (figure 695). It is carved from ivory and both the mantle and the type itself are extremely Span-

Fig. 696. — St. Michael. Polychrome terra-cotta statue, the work of Pedro de Millán.

ish. The Virgin in the treasury of the cathedral of Toledo is decidedly more French in appearance. Castile remained under the French influence until the middle of the Fifteenth Century. The country then began to display a remarkable interest in the art of Flanders and Burgundy, which may well be said to have found a new home in Spain. This almost fanatical enthusiasm for Burgundian art will be discussed in another chapter; but we might mention a statue which is still entirely Castilian in style, but in which we begin to discern the influence of the Burgundian school. This is the beautiful St. Michael from the studio of Pedro Millán which has now been carried off to a foreign land (fig. 696).

In painting we also find the same phenomenon which we have already noted in sculpture. Documentary accounts of the painters of central Spain are extremely rare. The Gothic paintings of Castile, both those on wood and others, have largely disappeared and are replaced by the glorious canvases of the Castilian artists of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

Nevertheless, we should not neglect to mention the skilful miniaturists of the time of Alfonso the Wise who illustrated the codices of the Cántigas, the books on chess and the chronicles and scientific treatises.

The Escorial Library possesses two copies of the Cántigas, which are profusely illustrated. Alfonso the Wise kept about him a company of scholars from many lands and races. In the prologues of his works we find mention of Arabs and Jews who aided him in his astronomical and geographical studies. But the Castilian court must have also been familiar with the latest literary and artistic productions of Gothic Europe. In the Cántigas we find subjects taken from a French book of Miracles of the Virgin Mary, and the King's General histories contain data collected from the contemporary Italian and French sources. There is no doubt that King Alfonso the Wise kept Arab and Persian miniaturists at his court, but his chief scribe who was in charge of the other copyists and illustrators was, according to a Vatican chronicle, a certain Martín Pérez de Maqueda, which is a good Spanish name, and his corps of assistants seem to have been Spaniards as well (figs. 697 and 698).

After this school of painters and sculptors at the court of the wise monarch, which he himself mentions in his writings, it was two centuries before we again find anything more than isolated works of little importance. In the Fifteenth

Century, however, Italian artists began to arrive in the country, such as Starnina and Nicolas Florentino, who painted the reredos of the cathedral of Salamanca.

In Catalonia not only the documents have been preserved, but also the Gothic panels and altars referred to in the archives, no doubt, because of the small part taken by this region in the Renaissance. Today, after a number of years of research, we have an almost complete series of Catalan painters beginning with the first part of the Fourteenth Century. The first of these is something more than a name found in a document. He was Ferrer Bassa, and some remains have been preserved of his work. It is well known that he illuminated a copy of the code of Usajes for King Jaime II. Ferrer Bassa's manuscript has disappeared, but other codices of the same period have come down to us, which give us some idea of Catalan miniature painting in the time of this artist. An excellent example is the handsome frontispiece of the Book of Privileges of Mallorca, the work of Romeu Despoal (fig. 699). Another is a page of the great

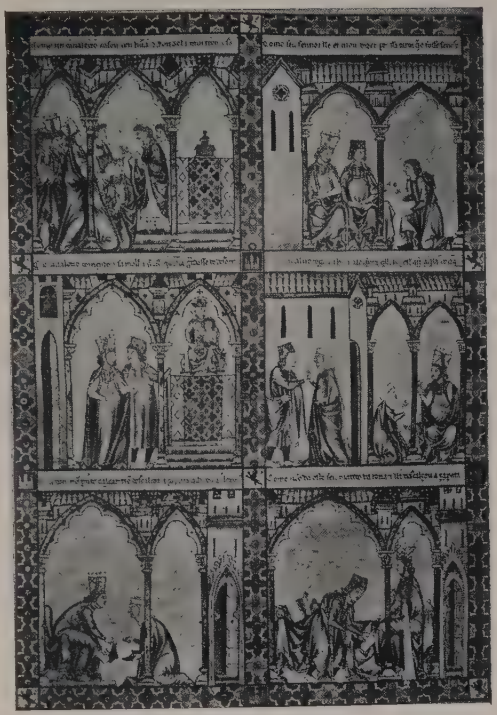

Fig. 697. — Miniature of the Cántigas of Alfonso the Wise. *(Escorial Library.)*

Fig. 698. — Miniature of the Cántigas of Alfonso the Wise. *(Escorial Library.)*

Fig. 699.—Miniature of the Book of Privileges.
(Palma de Mallorca.)

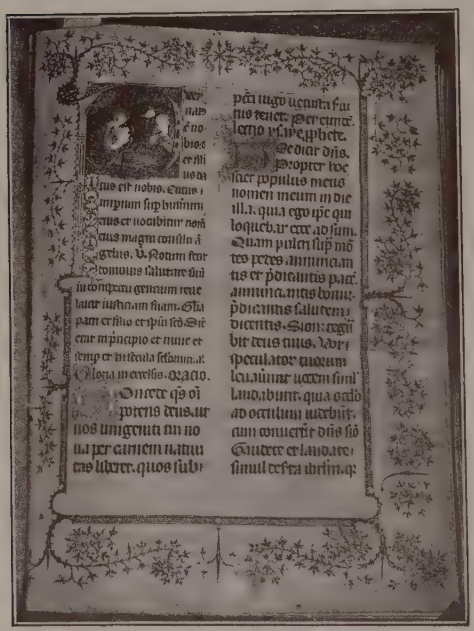

Fig. 700.—Missal Mayor of San Cugat del Vallés.
(Archivo Real.) BARCELONA.

missal of San Cugat, embellished with the fine scrolls characteristic of the French miniatures of the period (fig. 700).

Ferrer Bassa, with his forceful personality, seems to have put an end to this vacillation. He was not a great master of drawing; indeed, his frescoes are sometimes childishly incorrect. But he had travelled in Italy and was acquainted with the new repertory of Italian art which was growing up in Florence and Siena at the time (fig. 701). In 1343 when he was commissioned to paint the chapel of Pedralbes, Giotto's frescoes in Padua, Assisi, Rome and Naples must have been still fresh. It is probable that Ferrer Bassa saw the works of the latter at Naples which have since disappeared, but his preference was for the Siennese school which, although not as popular as that of Florence, was more esteemed by the finer art connoisseurs like Petrarch. The influence of the Siennese school upon Catalan painting lasted for more than a century. It is interesting to note that as late as the beginning of the Fifteenth Century, King Martin presented the cathedral of Barcelona with a Virgin from Siena.

Ferrer Bassa was followed by James Serra, who was also a resident of Barcelona. He was employed in 1365 by the monks of the Santo Sepulcro at Saragossa. Then comes Pedro Serra at the end of the Fourteenth Century. A complete reredos by this artist has been preserved in one of the chapels of the cathedral of Manresa. His school seems to have covered as broad an area as that of Ferrer Bassa, or possibly it was even more widely

Fig. 701. — Frescoes by Ferrer Bassa in Pedralbes. BARCELONA.

extended. To him are now attributed other similar paintings which had been supposed to be the work of Borrassá until the archivist of Manresa found documentary proof that Pedro Serra was the painter of the reredos in his cathedral. Serra is now believed to have painted the reredos of Sant Llorens dels Morunys, as well as that of Todos los Santos at San Cugat del Vallés. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the delicate and soft tones of the Siennese school. His Madonnas are tender and youthful and wear a mantle covered with flowers. Light blues, greens and transparent reds predominate against the gold background. The angels of Pedro Serra are still similar to the Virgins of Duccio. He worked on after the beginning of the Fifteenth Century, but, like Ferrer Bassa's, the spirit and style of his pictures belong to the Fourteenth.

In the Fifteenth Century the Catalan painters continued to be dominated by this Italian influence, but the school took on more and more a character of its own

Fig. 702. Borrassá panel of the reredos at Perpignan. *(Metropolitan Museum of New York.)*

Fig. 703. — Catalan painting by Luis Borrassá. *(Museum of Vich.)*

until, with its gold backgrounds and the typical composition of its altar-screens, it ended by being independent of any other artistic current and even exported many of its pictures to foreign countries. The paintings of Barcelona were sent not only to Sardinia and Sicily, which were then Catalan provinces, but also to Pisa, and in this manner the influence of the Catalan painters of the Fifteenth Century extended even to the artists of Nice and the Riviera.

Fig. 704. — Reredos ascribed to Pedro Serra. *(San Cugat del Vallés.)*

Chronologically, the first Fifteenth-century painter of Catalonia was Luis Borrassá. He was an excellent colorist, but we are certain of only one of his works, a reredos belonging to the nuns of

Santa Clara, now in the Museo Episcopal at Vich (fig. 703). Nevertheless, his studio at Barcelona must have been well known, for he received commissions from distant cities like Burgos and his name appears in contracts for a number of altar-screens and the like which have today disappeared.

Fig. 705. — Altar of Cardona. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

There are many references to other Fifteenth-century Catalan painters in the archives and many altar-screens have been preserved whose artists cannot be identified, but providentially both the contract and the work itself have been preserved in a number of cases. Thus we know that Huguet painted the reredos of San Pedro de Tarrasa, and that the Vergós, father and son, had another well known studio in Barcelona, for a large number of important works can confidently be ascribed to them. The altar of the tanners' guild at Barcelona, possibly that of San Vicente de Sarriá as well, and those of San Antonio Abad at Barcelona and the Royal Chapel of Santa Agueda are all their work (fig. 708 and Plate XLV).

Fig. 706. — St. George by Huguet. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

The Catalan reredos, or retablo, is usually rectangular. Its central portion is elongated by the addition of an upper panel where we find represented the Crucifixion, or the Virgin surrounded by angels (fig. 703). On the central panel the Virgin or patron saint of the church is painted on a larger scale (figure 704). On the adjoining panels

Fig. 707. — The Trinity. *(Museum of Vich.)*

Fig. 708.—Fragment of a reredos of Sarriá. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

we find represented a story from the Gospels, often embellished with apocryphal details or others taken from the lives of the saints as related by Jacobus de Voragine in his Golden Legend which the painters all knew by heart. Italian influence persists, as in some of the colors and backgrounds. On a fragment of the altar of Cardona we see Giottesque architecture in the background of the Adoration of the Magi. The kings themselves are dressed and armed like Moors (fig. 705).

The local character becomes more and more accentuated. The Catalan burghers and merchants appear in ever increasing numbers (fig. 708) in the representations of the lives of the saints and other stories of a religious character; they stand in throngs about the executioners. We see them in pictures of the Crucifixion and the martyrdom of the saints, as in the anecdotal figures of the retablo of Master Alfonso in San Cugat del Vallés (fig. 709) and the interesting allegorical representation of the Trinity now in the Museum of Vich (fig. 707).

About the middle of the Fifteenth Century the Catalan school, now deteriorating through too constant a repetition of the same themes, underwent a new influence which might have given it another century of life. A certain Luis Dalmau, who had been commissioned to paint the altar for the chapel of the Municipal Council of Barcelona, was sent to Flanders by Alfonso V. While there, he was enraptured by the great works of the Van Eyck brothers, which were to revolutionize the world of art. His Virgen de

Fragment of a reredos from San Vicente de Sarriá. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

los Concelleres is a Flemish Virgin with red undulating hair (fig. 710). Behind the grisaille architecture typical of the Van Eycks appear the singing angels of these artists as on the altar, or polyptych, of the Mystical Lamb in Ghent. In Dalmau's picture the Councilors of Barcelona on their knees devoutly worship the Mother of God, apparently amazed at this Flemish Virgin so different from the one usually appearing on the altars of Catalonia. This Flemish influence seems to have come through Castile, where we have seen the art of that country and of Burgundy taken up and completely adapted to its new home.

A Cordovan painter, Bartolomé Bermejo, who was an enthusiastic admirer of the Van Eycks, came to Eastern Spain in the last years of the Fifteenth Century. He was commissioned by the canons of Barcelona to paint a picture of the Pietà (fig. 712), and at Vich he did one of the Ecce Homo (fig. 711). For the town of Tous in Valencia he painted the altar to St. Michael which has recently been sent to England.

But by the end of the Fifteenth Century

Fig. 709.—Martyrdom of a Saint. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Fig. 710.—Virgen de los Concelleres. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Fig. 711. — Ecce Homo. *(Museum of Vich.)*

Catalonia no longer possessed sufficient adaptability to assimilate these Flemish innovations as it had the Italian art of the Trecento a hundred years before. As if wearied and saddened by the new dynasty, the Catalan people lost their interest in art for four long centuries. After Bermejo, still another foreigner painted the retablo of Santa María del Mar. This was a German by the name of Volguemut. We also observe German influences in the retablos of Granollers, but they lack character and were little assimilated.

Valencian art is later, and was less affected by dynastic changes. In this province, at the end of the Fifteenth Century, we find the prestige which Barcelona had now lost.

Fig. 712. — Pietà by Bartolomé Bermejo. *(Cathedral of Barcelona.)*

Fig. 713.—Reredos of St. George. From Valencia.
In the centre of the composition is the Saint aiding a king of Aragon in single combat with a Moorish king. *(Museum of South Kensington.)*

Fig. 714. — Cloister-grille.
(Cathedral of Barcelona.)

Fig. 715. — Grating of the pulpit-steps.
(Cathedral of Barcelona.)

For fifty years the Valencian painters were marvelous colorists. Their beautiful retablos still preserved the iconography and general lines of Catalonian art. Flemish themes are seen everywhere. The new style of representing the Virgin and the Eternal Father, created by the Van Eycks, was widely copied in Valencia, with less precision, perhaps, than by Dalmau, but surely with more art and inspiration. One of these retablos from Valencia, in the South-Kensington Museum, represents the legend of St. George. In the central panel is a battle between Moors and Christians in which one of the kings of Aragon, protected by the Saint who fights at his side, transfixes a Moorish king with his lance (fig. 713). It has been suggested that this apparition of St. George may have been the famous one at the battle of Alcoraz in 1106, but it is more likely that it was the occasion of which we find an account in the Chronicles of King Jaime, after the capture of the city of Palma de Mallorca: "And they say that they saw entering before them a white knight dressed in white armour who, we must believe, was St. George." Around the central panel are sixteen others representing the legend of St. George. Above is the Virgin among the angels and the Eternal Father with a crystal ball in one hand, surely a Flemish conception. There is also in the National Gallery of London a Valencian painting signed by "the son of Master Rodrigo" of which little is known.

After this brief survey of the architecture, painting and sculpture in Spain during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries we shall take a glance

at the minor arts. There is enough material to fill a volume, and, as a matter of fact, entire books have been published on the subject. The doors were strengthened by studs, many forms of which are still to be seen on the doors of the old cities of Castile. The iron-workers of Catalonia were also famous; indeed, their wrought metal grilles in the cathedral of Barcelona are of marvelous workmanship (figs. 714-715). The doors of the cathedral of Tarragona still preserve their handsome hinges and the latch ornamented with a dragon (fig. 718). We find a more modest development of the same theme in the latch of the so-called House of the Archdeacon at Barcelona (fig. 717). Sometimes the latch consists merely of a ring set in an ornamented plaque attached to the door (fig. 716).

FOT. MAS

Fig. 716. — Gothic door-latch. *(Museum of Cau Ferrat.)* SITJES.

The history of goldsmiths' work in Spain has been covered to some extent by the rather unsatisfactory work of Baron de Davillier. Subsequently, many documents and inventories of the jewels of the kings and great nobles have been published as well. Except for a copy

Fig. 717.—Door-knocker of the Archdeacon House of Barcelona. *(Cau Ferrat.)* SITJES.

Fig. 718. — Door-knocker of the main door of the Cathedral of Tarragona.

Fig. 719.—Reliquary of the Corporales. Daroca.

of a record made in the reign of Sancho IV which is preserved in the cathedral of Toledo, the account-books of the royal archives have disappeared in Castile. In Barcelona, however, we still have not only the archives of the kings of Aragon, in which we find frequent references to orders for jewels, but also the archives of the treasurer containing annual statements of the property of the kings and princes of the royal family. In these inventories the descriptions of the jewels mention the enamelling and setting of each piece. Besides the jewels intended for personal use, such as girdles and necklaces, the royal inventories also mention many others of a purely ornamental character, such as the "castles of love," enchanted trees, lions and other animals. Some of these were equipped with springs and clockwork or with allegorical devices.

All of the treasures of the royal house of Aragon have disappeared, and only the ritual objects of the cathedrals remain. One of the most important pieces of Catalan goldsmiths' work of the Fourteenth Century is the reliquary containing the corporal-cloths of Daroca, which were miraculously stained with blood at the time of the conquest of Valencia. It was made at the command of Pedro the Ceremonious, who collected offerings from his courtiers in order that it might be completed by his jeweler, Pedro Moragues (fig. 719). The reliquary is in the form of a rectangular monstrance, with silver figures in relief on the back representing the Crucifixion. Beneath this is the Virgin Mary

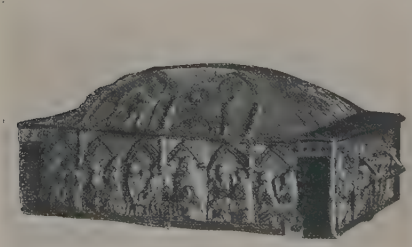

Fig. 720.— Casket of the Corporales. Daroca.

Fig. 721.—Evangelistary covers. *(Cathedral of Vich.)*

Fig. 722.—Monstrance in the Cathedral of Gerona.

Fig. 723.—Chalice of Pope Luna.
(Cathedral of Tortosa.)

between the king and queen who appear as orantes. On the front, two enameled doors bearing the shield of Aragon open and close, disclosing the relic itself. The host is kept in a casket decorated with enamels and repoussé reliefs. (fig. 720).

Among the Gothic monstrances of the Catalonian district, we might mention the one at Gerona which was made by a certain Francisco Artado in 1430. It is ornamented by a series of pinnacles and buttresses, all done in excellent style (fig. 722). Other examples of Gothic goldsmiths' work are preserved in most of the cathedrals of Spain (fig. 724). The books of the silversmiths' guild at Barcelona, beginning with the Fifteenth Century, have been preserved. In these each candidate for admittance must draft a jewel. A somewhat later album of drawings of the silversmiths' guild has been preserved in Seville as well. In regard to the Barcelona silversmith, Pedro Moragues, whom we have already mentioned, we know that he not only executed commissions like that of the Daroca monstrance, but also carved important sculptures, such as the tombs of Poblet and others at Saragossa. The more delicate work, like that of the ivory-carvers and silversmiths, was in imitation of French models; nevertheless, in Catalonia it was also adapted to the local art of the country (fig. 725).

The most important ivory-carving from Catalonia is probably the saddle of one of the kings of Aragon, now in the Louvre (fig. 724). We believe it to be the one which belonged to Pedro II, the conqueror of Sicily. In the centre

Fig. 724. — Ivory saddle of King Pedro II. *(Louvre.)* PARIS.

is the imperial eagle, the symbol of the Ghibelline party, grasping in its claws the Guelf hare and holding above the crown two pennants, one, that of Aragon, and the other, that of Sicily. Of the two charging knights, the one on the right bears on his shield the arms of Sicily. The small warriors on the border bear the arms of Aragon, and between them are interspersed little groups of a somewhat classical character, representing the Hercules myth. It is evidently Thirteenth-century work; the decoration of the border recalls the ornamental archivolts of the gates of Agramunt, Lerida and Valencia, and the chair of Roda. No one but a monarch could have possessed a work of art with its political allegory of the eagle and the hare, and this king of Aragon and Sicily could hardly have been other than Pedro II. After his death these two kingdoms

Fig. 725. — Gothic ivory-carving from Vich. *(Leroy Collection.)* PARIS.

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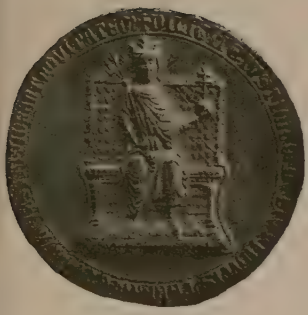

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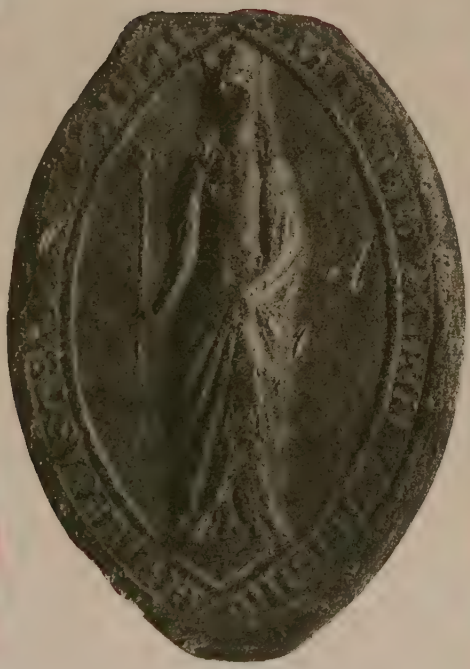

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1 and 2. Seal of Charles of Valois. — 3. Seal of Maria de Luna, the wife of John I of Castile and Leon. 4. Seal of Jaime II of Aragon. — 5. Seal of Pedro IV of Aragon. — 6 and 7. Seal of Martin I of Aragon. 8. Seal of Maria de Molina, the mother of Ferdinand IV of Castile and Leon.

were separated, each inherited by one of his two sons. The knightly theme corresponds to the character of this romantic sovereign who, as Dante wrote, wonderfully "D'ogni virtù porto cinta la corda."

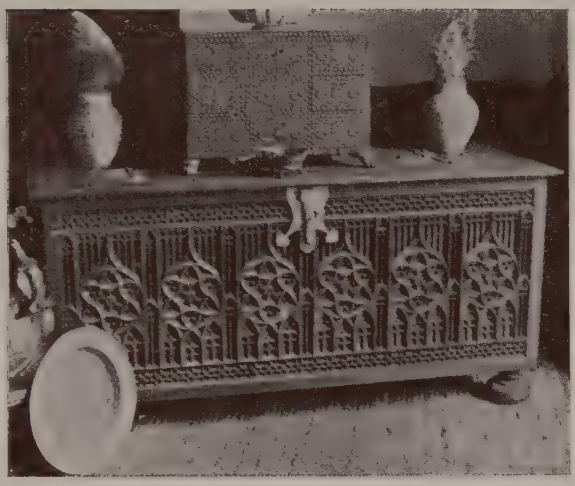

Fig. 726. — Gothic chest at Manacor.

In conclusion we will glance at the furniture and textiles of this period. The inventories of the time describe carefully the articles of luxury such as beds, chairs, chests and the like, many examples of which have been preserved (figs. 726, 727, 731, 732 and 733). Especially noteworthy are the choir stalls of the cathedrals in every part of Spain. Many of them date only from the Renaissance, particularly in Castile, or at least from the period when Burgundian influence was dominant, as in the cathedral of Leon. Among the oldest of the choir stalls in Central Spain are those of the monastery church of Santo Tomás at Avila (fig. 728), which appear to have been completed in 1493. At the ends are two larger seats, supposed to have been intended for Ferdinand and Isabella, whose arms and monograms are carved on the backs. The choir of the Seo of Saragossa dates from the Fifteenth Century, as does that of the Cartuja of Miraflores. In Eastern Spain, the choir of Tarragona dates from the year 1478; and that of Barcelona was begun about the middle of the Fifteenth Century by Matías Bonafé, and finished some forty years later by two Germans, Miguel Locher and Juan Federico, who carved the pinnacles and other ornaments on the seats.

Fig. 727.— Gothic chest in the old royal palace at Mallorca.

There are many Gothic altars and vestiaries in the churches and sacristies of Spain. Two particularly handsome chairs, or thrones, are the abbot's chair in the Cartuja de Valldemosa near Palma de Mallorca, of carved open work, and the silver

Fig. 728. — Choir stalls of the Monastic Church of Santo Tomás. Avila.

Fig. 729.— Abbot's chair of the Cartuja de Valldemosa. Mallorca.

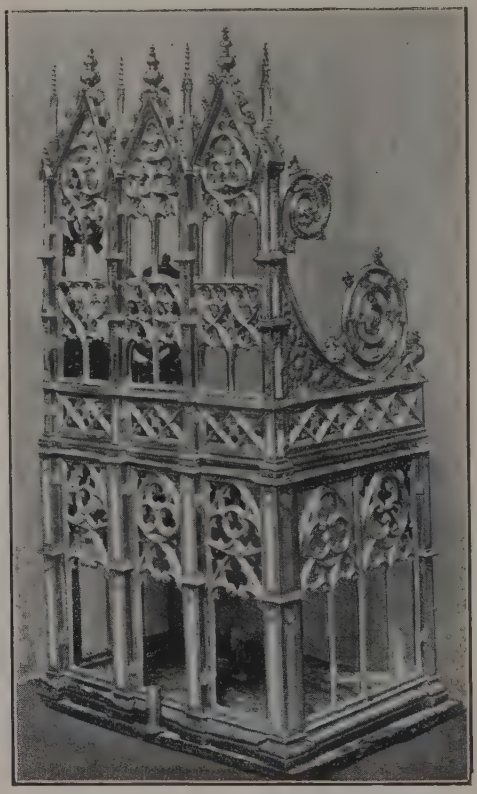

Fig. 730.— Throne of King Martin, which serves to hold the monstrance in the Cathedral of Barcelona.

throne of King Martin in the cathedral of Barcelona (figures 747 and 748).

In Castile are preserved many chests of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. The chest of the Cid, which is to be seen in the cathedral of Burgos, is very curious with its iron studs and braces. In the museums and private houses we find other chests in the Gothic style ornamented with medallions and varied shields.

Fig. 731. — Chest of the Fourteenth Century. *(Museum of Vich.)*

In Catalonia the chests and coffers are quite characteristic. Bands of open work divide the front into three panels on which are painted shields and scenes, both sacred and profane. The caskets for jewels and documents are also interesting; some of them are lined with beaten copper. Few moulds were employed for beating out the copper, so the same theme was often repeated. These usually had to do with love and would bear an inscription such as, *Amor, mercé si us plau,* which we find in the Museums of Vich, or like another of the same type in the church of Cominges which bears the legend,

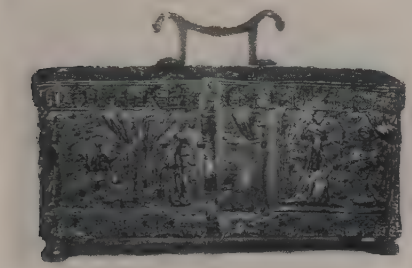

Fig. 732. — Repoussé copper chest. *(Museum of Vich.)*

Per amor de Madona me combat ab aquesta vibora.

In the inventories of the Gothic period we find frequent descriptions of the rich fabrics possessed by the nobility, such as cloaks, garments and expensive cloths. Some of these seem to have been manufactured in Spain, for they bear the arms of Castile and Leon. and we know that the Moors and Moriscos of Andalusia wove fabrics for the Christians. Handsome embroideries were also made as well as the imported English embroideries, Flemish tapestries and Italian velvets mentioned in the inventories. During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries the textiles of Seville, Valencia and Cordova were among the finest in Europe.

Fig. 733. — Jewel casket. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

Summary. — Gothic art was imported into Spain from France and soon completely assimilated. In the cathedrals of Leon, Burgos and Toledo; the style is pure and the arrangement very fine. Spanish prelates and nobles vied with one another in the study of the buildings of the other countries of Europe, that they might create monumental structures of their own. The Cistercian monks also played a part in the development of this new style. In the kingdom of Aragon which also comprised Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Isles, the relations which the County of Barcelona maintained with Languedoc and Provence determined the type of the Gothic structures of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. In almost every case the Spanish cathedrals retained their cloisters. In the territories of the Confederacy of Aragon and Catalonia, the churches were covered with flat roofs and the vaults strengthened by interior buttresses, all of which gave them a character of their own. In the civil architecture of Central Spain we note Moorish influences, but that of Aragon and Catalonia preserved a pure style, as noted in the differences between the door of the Hospital de la Latina at Madrid and that of the Consejo Municipal at Barcelona. Noteworthy examples are the Lonjas de Mar, porticos, hospitals, palaces and a number of private houses. The military architecture is not of the massive character found in France, such as that of Avignon, Aigues Mortes and Carcassonne, but some of the gateways and towers of the city-walls of Valencia, Poblet and Perpignan are still imposing. Some of the old castles and other residences of the nobility of Castile and Aragon are still standing. Handsome examples of the tombs of this period are those of Santas Creus. The ones in the cathedral of Seville, with their gold ornaments, have disappeared. The use of a vaulted niche was very common, as in the case of the tomb of Juan de Padilla at Burgos. The decorative sculpture is more or less in imitation of French models, although the artists of the country finally succeeded in creating new types of their own. A very fine example is the polychrome statue at Gerona, long supposed to be that of Charlemagne. There is not much documentary evidence concerning the painters of Central Spain, but many records exist of those of Catalonia, particularly Ferrer Bassa, Jaime Serra, Pedro Serra and Luis Borrassá. There was a school of painters of retablos in Catalonia. Luis Dalmau visited Flanders and introduced the style of the Van Eycks, as seen in his Virgen de los Concelleres. A Cordovan painter, Bartolomé Bermejo, was also influenced in the same way. The minor arts developed extensively during this period, the work of the locksmiths and goldsmiths deserving especial attention. The guilds of these artisans were remarkably well organized. Ivory-carvers also produced the most delicate work, as we see from the saddle of Pedro II.

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Fig. 734. — Shield on the Puerta Real. *(Poblet.)*

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Fig. 735. — Palace of the Doges. VENICE.

CHAPTER XVIII

GOTHIC ART IN ITALY. — VENICE AND LOMBARDY. — CENTRAL ITALY
THE GOTHIC CASTLES OF FREDERICK II. — GOTHIC STYLE IN NAPLES AND SICILY
UNDER THE RULE OF THE FAMILIES OF ANJOU AND ARAGON.

UNTIL recently it has been believed that Italy was the European country least affected by the spread of the French Gothic style. On this classic soil the traditions of the ancient civilization were never completely lost. Here, even during the Dark Ages, the old Roman art still lived, awaiting only an opportune moment to spring again into existence. And so most investigators came to believe that Gothic art had passed over Italy without leaving any other trace than a few isolated monuments which were nothing more than importations. It was felt that whenever the artistic spirit of the country displayed any vigor at all it manifested itself in an effort to alter beyond recognition the Gothic forms which had been brought in from across the Alps. The artists of the Renaissance, when they rebuilt the monuments of the Middle Ages, did much to disfigure the Gothic structures of Italy. In the treatises of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries we note the same prejudice against the mediaeval forms. Architects and sculptors spent their days studying the remains of classical antiquity and resolutely turning their eyes away from the Gothic, or *Tudesco,* style, as though in fear of contamination. Nevertheless, we now see that in their own

Fig. 736.—Lateral façade of the Palace of the Doges. Venice.

way the Italians also had a part in that manifestation of Western European civilization known as Gothic art. As the less important monuments of the provinces become better known, we begin to note certain zones in which the artistic styles of the lands beyond the Alps achieved a considerable vogue. As long as study was confined to the famous buildings of the great cities, there seemed to be no purely Gothic cathedral other than that of Milan, and no case of importation except that of the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi. Italy, generally speaking, was supposed to have resisted the introduction of these forms so little in accordance with the traditional styles of her people. But opinions have changed in recent years. Italian scholars have come to possess more exact information concerning the monuments of their country, a knowledge which has been furthered by the work of the foreign archaeological schools at Rome. Two illustrious members of the French School, M. Enlart and M. Berteaux, have made important contributions to this work. The former has brought to light evidence of the influence exerted by the Cistercian monks of Fossanuova, Vercelli and S. Galgano on the mediaeval structures of Italy, while the latter has shown the part taken by the lay-architects of France in Southern Italy under the Swabian Emperors and later under the Neapolitan dynasty of the house of Anjou.

The last importation of Gothic forms into Italy was in the Fifteenth Century, when the royal family of Aragon regained dominion over Naples and Sicily. Architects from Catalonia and Mallorca went to Sicily and Southern Italy as they would to one of the provinces of their own country. In Palermo and Naples, painters and sculptors from Valencia executed commissions for the Spanish bishops and nobles who had taken up their residence in those cities.

We shall take up in turn the various manifestations of Gothic art in Italy. There were so many schools of art that it is not possible to treat them chronologically; we can only make a topographical survey of conditions, beginning with Venice in the northeast corner of the peninsula, and continuing through Lombardy and Tuscany down into Southern Italy.

Fig. 737. — Palazzo Foscari. VENICE.

The finest Venetian monument of this period is the Palace of the Doges lying to one side of St. Mark's Cathedral (fig. 735). The chief magistrate of the Republic had long resided on this spot. As early as the Ninth Century, the Doge Particiaco built the first palace, which was burned in 996 and rebuilt by Pietro Orseolo. After another fire it was again rebuilt in the Twelfth Century, but the building did not take on its present appearance until it was restored by Venetian architects in the Fourteenth Century. The latter work lasted several generations; we find in the records the names of a number of different architects who directed the construction, and in some cases we are able to determine the portion of the monument executed by a certain director. The Palace of the Doges seems like a great marble cube gilded by the sun. On the main floor and the ground floor below it there are exterior porticoes. Above, the wall is plain, pierced only by large divided windows and lined with small slabs of red and white marble (figs. 735 and 736). We know of no other building that can compare with the Doges' Palace at Venice. Its arrangement is something marvelous, and it harmonizes remarkably with the general character of the city. It is attached to the cathedral building by the famous Porta della Carta, so called from the placards announcing the decrees of the Government. Its courts and some of the additions to the façade are Renaissance, but their style does not conflict with the general scheme of the building.

A number of the private palaces of Venice are of the same period. The arrangement of their façades, rising one story above another, is that of the Byzantine palaces, although the forms themselves are Gothic. Among these are the palaces of the Contarini, Giustiniani, Pisani, Dandolo and Foscari (fig. 737). The same is true of many of the churches of the city. Some of them are of brick after the Lombard style, such as Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari and SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

In Lombardy, however, the most important architectural achievement is the cathedral of Milan, which is built mostly of marble. It is a rather late work,

Fig. 738. — Exterior of the Cathedral of Milan.

somewhat decadent even, and excited surprise at the time it was erected, for everywhere else in Italy there was a growing enthusiasm for the Renaissance.

The cathedral of Milan was founded by Gian Galeazzo Visconti and the first director of the work seems to have superintended the building operations after 1386. At times French architects were in charge; we know that a Parisian was *ingegniere* of the cathedral in 1388. There were also German masters, such as Heinrich von Gmünd and Ulrich von Füssingen, who directed the work toward the end of the Fourteenth Century. Their places were taken later by Italians under Organi, but in general the character of the structure continued to be Gothic; indeed, its details followed the Gothic styles of Germany. The nave has four aisles, and the transepts two. The interior produces a strange effect, for the aisles, although all of the same height, vary in width and are decorated with unusual grisaille paintings. Above the crossing is a dome crowned with spires and pinnacles (fig. 738). The buttresses, too, are surmounted by pinnacles supporting statues of saints (fig. 739). The cathedral of Milan is the result of a tardy manifestation of the Gothic spirit, carried to a conclusion with little enthusiasm or faith. Nevertheless, its bulk is so enormous, and, in spite of its lack of spirit, there is such individuality in all its elements and details, that no cathedral in Europe can be compared with it. Seen from a distance or in the night, when the monotony of its buttresses no longer oppresses the beholder, this white mountain of sculptured marble rising to the heavens produces a deep impression.

Fig. 739. — Buttresses of the Cathedral of Milan.

We find nothing like this great building elsewhere in Lombardy. It was an isolated phenomenon, a monument to the Visconti family, whose members soon ceased to be the Dukes of Milan. Of the last of them the chronicle tells us that "while he lived he never stopped building." The Visconti were succeeded by the Sforzas, a newer family, and these accepted without further vacillation the forms of the Renaissance. The Carthusian monastery of Certosa di Pavia, begun

Fig. 740. — Certosa di Pavia.

by the Visconti in 1473 and completed by the Sforzas (fig. 740), is noticeably Renaissance in character.

Gothic forms hardly penetrated to the lake region in the north of Lombardy, because of the deeply seated traditions of the Magistri Comacini. The cathedral of Como is an example of the hybrid forms which grew up when the styles of the Renaissance were introduced into a district where a taste for the Romanesque still endured (fig. 741).

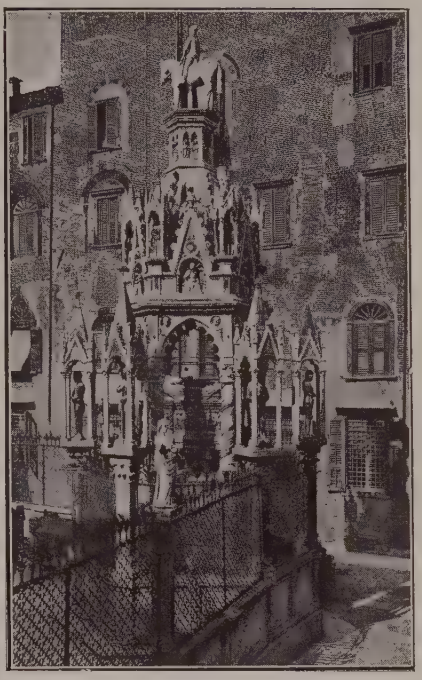
The same occurred in Piedmont, both in the country churches and in the numerous castles which have come down to us from this period, particularly in the district of Montferrat. Strangely enough, there is not in Turin a single Gothic monument. Here an interesting feature is the wide use of polychrome decorations on the brick walls of the buildings, not only on the inside, but outside as well. They are covered with designs, checker-work, retiform patterns and borders enclosing many religious scenes, and some pictures of saints (fig. 742).

Fig. 741. — Façade of the Cathedral of Como.

PHOTO ARBUS

Fig. 742. — Church of the valley of Aosta.

Fig. 743. — Tomb of Bernabó Visconti. *(Archaeological Museum.)* MILAN.



PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 744. — Tomb of Can Signorio della Scala. VERONA.

We should also mention as typical of the country the tombs of the great adventurers and captains of Milan and Verona, on many of which are equestrian statues of the deceased. The marble sarcophagus of Bernabó Visconti rests on twelve columns. Beside the mounted figure are two allegorical ones commemorating his outstanding qualities, justice and valor (fig. 743). The tombs of the lords of Verona are still more complicated. Three of these are in the corner of a little square and surrounded by a handsome iron grille. The first is that of the founder of the family, known as Can Grande della Scala. Above a rather simple monument rises the equestrian statue of the terrible captain whom we still see filled with martial ardor. The tombs of his successors are more elaborate. A canopy of several stories of Gothic arches and spires is crowned by a mounted figure which dominates the composition (fig. 744).

In Tuscany the Cistercians founded the famous abbey of S. Galgano, of which little more remains than the ruined church. The Gothic vault which covered it has fallen, but its arrangement may still be made out from the piers and the springers on the walls. The monks of this monastery conducted the work on the cathedral of Siena according to the documents published by Milanesi. This is the more important because the latter building, in spite of its Gothic

Fig. 745. — Façade of the Cathedral of Siena.

construction, with its mosaics and sculptures by the most renowned artists of the period like Giovanni Pisano and his Italian pupils, appears at first sight to be the work of local artists, and we see little evidence of the style and tastes of the French monks. We do not find on the exterior the buttresses so characteristic of the Gothic churches, and the façades are decorated with the colored marble bands so characteristic of the country. The white marble is that of Carrara and the green is from Prato. Inside are the same light and dark bands (fig. 746). Over the crossing is an ingeniously constructed cupola, but the nave and aisles are covered with pointed arches supported by Gothic ribs. That is, in the construction the Gothic principles of the Cistercians prevail, but the decoration was given over to the lay-artists of the country, such as Giovanni and Andrea Pisano and the former's pupil, Arnolfo. Later the main façade was encrusted with precious mosaics, where we find the marvelous colors of the Italian painters of the first centuries of the Renaissance, but the construction of the edifice is Gothic, and the Italians learned from it, possibly without intending to do so.

In the cathedral of Orvieto, erected later in the Papal States, we find a repetition of the arrangement of the Siena cathedral. Here, too, the magnificent

Façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto.

Fig. 746. — Interior of the cathedral of Siena.

façade with its mosaics distracts the attention of the beholder from the structural elements of the monument. (Plate XLVII.) The sculptors who had taken lessons from the Cistercians spread through Latium and Tuscany the pointed arch and Gothic vault. In the Campo Santo of Pisa the arches of the cloister are ornamented with Gothic open work (fig. 509). The little church of S. Maria della Spina in Pisa is an interesting example of Gothic art as interpreted in Tuscany (fig. 747). In Florence in the Or S. Michele, as the famous chapel of the wool-merchants' guild is called, we also find Gothic windows and ribbed vaults. At

Fig. 747. — Church of S. Maria della Spina. Pisa.

Rome, Arnolfo, the pupil of Niccola Pisano, carved two beautiful canopies over the altars of S. Agnese and S. Paolo. In both of these baldachins the lines are entirely Gothic. The same is true of the famous fountain of Arnolfo at Perugia, which is surrounded by small pointed arches; but we shall describe it when we come to Renaissance sculpture.

One circumstance which furthered the spread of the Gothic style in Italy was the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican religious orders in the Thirteenth Century. These organizations were not long in winning the sympathy of the Italian cities, and in every town of any importance it was considered necessary to have a monastery of preaching monks as well as one of Franciscans. The principal house of the latter was at Assisi, where the founder of the order was buried, and the church of S. Francesco is, as a matter of fact, one of the most curious Gothic monuments in Italy (fig. 748). It was raised on stout buttresses, for the devout brothers desired to set it over the burial place of the Saint, which was on the edge of a hill. Upon this enormous substructure they erected a light church consisting only of a nave, apse and transepts. The thrusts of the vaults of the nave are arrested by massive cylindrical piers, almost like towers, similar to those of the cathedral of Albi in Provence. The work seems to have been directed by two Italian masters, but it was an international undertaking, for the funds were collected in every Christian land. This would explain the fact that various foreign influences are noted and that only a few years elapsed between its commencement and consecration. It was built in the Gothic style then dominant in Europe.

The sainted founder of the Dominican order was buried in Bologna in the cathedral dedicated to S. Petronio, which was also built after the Gothic style. This church must have been intended to be much larger than it now is. A vast church was planned with a nave, two aisles and lateral chapels, the transepts flanked by aisles as well. But it was only half completed. The work, begun at the façade, was suspended when the crossing was reached. Consequently S. Petronio is not typical of the Dominican churches, whose plan is supposed to have been revealed in a dream to the holy founder of the order, by an angel. In this vision he saw snow falling and forming on the ground the plan of a church which the angel declared should be that of the Dominican churches. This plan

Fig. 748. — Church of S. Francesco. Assisi.

is T-shaped, the transepts forming the arms of the T, and behind it are chapels. If we recall the early monastic church with its cruciform plan and long apse required for a good-sized community, we see that here is substituted for it a church in which there is hardly any choir at all. The churches of the mendicant orders were intended not only for the members, but also for the public. Consequently the guilds and other civic organizations often aided in the construction of these churches. In Italy these bodies frequently met there rather than in the cathedral. The various chapels of the apse had a similar object; each was placed under the patronage of a noble family in order that it might be allied to the religious order to which the church belonged. The organizations of both the people and the great aristocrats were thus drawn toward the new communities, and later enriched them with marvelous paintings during the first centuries of the Renaissance. The Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence is at the same time a museum and a national Pantheon. Here lie buried Michelangelo, Machiavelli and many other famous men. Santa Maria Novella at the other end of the city is also a Gothic structure, but it is adorned with Renaissance paint-

Fig. 749. — Palace of the Signoria. Siena.

ings and sculptures. Even the cathedral of Florence, S. Maria delle Fiore, is covered with Gothic vaults. We see it in a Fourteenth-century fresco, where it is pictured as completed according to the original plan, and here the thrust is arrested by exterior buttresses. As the work progressed, however, it was decided to leave the façades smooth and decorate them with precious marbles, so it became necessary to strengthen the arches with iron tie-rods which could be seen from every part of the church. In the Italian mind the structural principles of the Gothic style found little favor, consisting as they did of opposing thrust with thrust. Whenever it was possible, the buttresses were suppressed, even though it required iron ties extending from pier to pier at the springers of the arches.

Nevertheless, in the buildings of the religious orders, the traditional methods prescribed by the Cistercians made it difficult to introduce the innovations desired by the Italians. In civil architecture and in the public and private palaces, the lay-architects were able to show their independence and produce works of a more original character. In the free cities of Tuscany and Umbria we find great municipal palaces which were usually built of blocks of stone hardly smoothed at all. This gave them the air of fortresses, and they were crowned by high towers from which nearly all the territory of the municipality could be surveyed. Such an edifice was called the palace of the Signoria; the largest is that of the Republic of Siena (fig. 749) which was built between the years 1289 and 1309. It occupies one entire side of the great piazza of semicircular plan. Over its doors and windows is the double arch characteristic of this city. A pointed arch supports the weight of the wall above, while a lower and flatter one actually surmounts the opening. On the lofty tower, more than three hundred feet high, is a superstructure bearing the arms of the Republic and containing the bells.

In Florence we find two buildings of this type. One is the palace of the Podestà, or captain of the Florentine army (fig. 750), and the other, that of

the Signoria, or city government. The latter stands at one end of a large square (fig. 751). Both are crowned by projecting battlements and the high towers whose bells called the citizens to arms. The tower of the Signoria rests upon the projecting top of the palace and overhangs the entrance, which it thus defends. To maintain its equilibrium, the rear wall of this tower is a massive column of masonry descending through the palace to the ground beneath.

Fig. 750. — Palace of the Podestà. FLORENCE.

Other municipal palaces of the same style are found in Umbria, in the cities of Gubbio, Perugia and Orvieto. Inside them we usually find the same arrangement, an assembly hall and apartments for the administration and archives, as well as the chapel of the Council.

In the provinces of Central Italy subject to the Popes, the influence of Gothic art was felt less than elsewhere. At this time the Popes had emigrated to Avignon, where they adopted not only the art, but also the hospitality, of France. During these centuries, the saddest in all the history of Rome, a number of buildings were erected in the Eternal City, such as the church of the preaching order known as S. Maria della Minerva, which is entirely Gothic. After the Popes had returned from Avignon, they still continued for a time to build in the Gothic style both at Rome and at Viterbo, where the Papal Court resided for a time. A good example is the beautiful loggia attached to the palace, with its fountain playing in the interior of the gallery (fig. 752). There is a similar loggia in the papal city of Anagni. Both the climate and the social customs of Central Italy call for open meeting-places of this sort. They

Fig. 751. — Palace of the Signoria. FLORENCE.

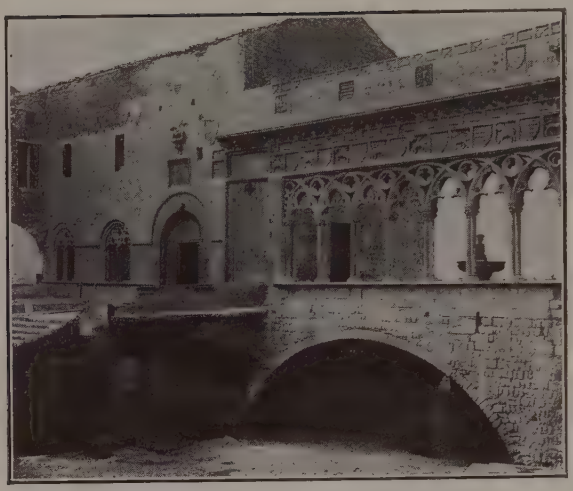


Fig. 752. — Papal Loggia. VITERBO.

are ideal spots for the clergy and cultivated persons of the city to enjoy the late afternoons of the hot summer days. Outside the cities it was usual to set up a public fountain enclosed by a portico. The Fonte Branda and the Fonte Nuova at Siena are famous. Others were installed on the city squares, as at Viterbo, where we still find the well known fountain of Gatteschi in the market, signed by one Master Benedictus.

Besides the introduction of the characteristic features of the Gothic style by the monks of the reformed Cistercian Order from France, other avenues of approach existed which were, perhaps, even more important. About the middle of the Thirteenth Century, Southern Italy again acknowledged the suzerainty of the Holy Roman Empire. The last heiress of the Norman kings of Sicily married a prince of the House of Swabia who, after he was crowned emperor, added to the imperial domain the Norman Kingdom of the two Sicilies. This was Frederick II. He made his home principally in Southern Italy, particularly in Apulia and Capitanata, which were his favorite provinces. In constant conflict with the ecclesiastic power, which was his northern neighbour, he hardly built or reconstructed a single church. His

Fig. 753. — Castel del Monte. APULIA.

principal works were fortresses and castles. He was the author of the restorations of the castle of Bari on the Adriatic and of those of Syracuse and Augusta in Sicily which had been constructed by the Byzantines.

Fig. 754. — Façade of Castel del Monte.

Besides these, Frederick II erected others on a new plan which suggests French influence. Among these is the castle of Lucera, where the Emperor is said to have kept a harem. Here the Arab garrison was greatly feared by the partisans of the Pope. The famous Castel del Monte is also Gothic in its construction. It is a perfect hexagon and is defended at the corners by octagonal towers (figs. 753 and 754). The name of the architect who directed the work is unknown, but inside we see the structural technique of the Gothic architects employed repeatedly. The vaults are perfect examples of the pointed style; the ribs support the weight of the roof and carry the thrust to the corners and other points reënforced by pilasters (figs. 755 and 756). The mouldings of the doorway, however, are almost classical and form a sort of pediment (fig. 754). We shall see further on how the first symptoms of a real interest in the old Greco-Roman art are to be found at the court of Frederick II. But the presence of French architects seems undeniable in this strange court of a German emperor whose tastes were those of an Italian

Fig. 755. — Interior of Castel del Monte.

Fig. 756. — Vault of Castel del Monte.

Fig. 757. — Castle of Castrogiovanni.
Sicily.

Fig. 758. — Tower of Frederick II
at Castrogiovanni.

prince. It is stated that Frederick II received in his territories many French artisans and colonists who returned from Cyprus and Palestine, and that among them was a number of artists and architects. One of the last, Philippe Chinard, directed the construction of another of the castles of the emperor at Trani.

The magnificent fortress of Castrogiovanni in the heart of Sicily is probably another of the works of these French architects. It is an enormous fortified camp defended by towers capable of housing a garrison which could offer a formidable resistance to the enemy (fig. 757). In the centre of the redoubt rises a solitary tower which is supposed to have lodged the emperor. It contains a number of stories of vaulted halls as in the French castles of the Gothic period (fig. 758).

PHOTO BROGI

Fig. 759. — Interior of the Church of S. Domenico Maggiore.
Naples.

About the middle of the Thirteenth Century, Southern Italy fell into the power of the House of Anjou, and a French court governed the country from Naples. There was a bloody struggle between Aragon, which justly claimed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies through the marriage of Constance, the granddaughter of Frederick II, with Pedro of Aragon, and the French under Charles of Anjou, who had received

the investiture of Southern Italy from the Pope. An agreement was finally reached under which the Spaniards retained Sicily, while the territories of the mainland became French. Both the Angevine rulers of Naples and the Aragonese kings of Sicily had come from countries where Gothic art was seen at its best, and they now continued to erect buildings such as they had seen at home. In Naples Charles of Anjou constructed the

Fig. 761. — Door of the Church of S. Giovanni de Pappacoda. Naples.

Fig. 760. — Façade of the Cathedral of Naples.

chapel of S. Lorenzo, with chapels radiating from the apse-aisle. The mediaeval churches of this city are filled with chapels and sarcophagi of pure Gothic style. It is surprising to find in a city so far to the south such works as the cathedral façade (fig. 760). which is entirely Gothic, and the royal tombs of S. Chiara. Although the latter were executed by Italian sculptors, their architectural arrangement is Gothic. The elegant Gothic church in Naples founded by Guillaume de Lyons, Guillaume de Bourgogne and Jean d'Autun, all French nobles, was dedicated to three French saints, namely St. Eloi, St. Martin and St. Denis. It is not surprising, therefore, that the architecture is that of a French church with a single nave, covered by a groined vault, transepts and apse decorated with Gothic mouldings, and a façade typical of the Thirteenth Century.

There is nothing strange about the

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Fig. 762. — Tomb of King Robert. NAPLES.

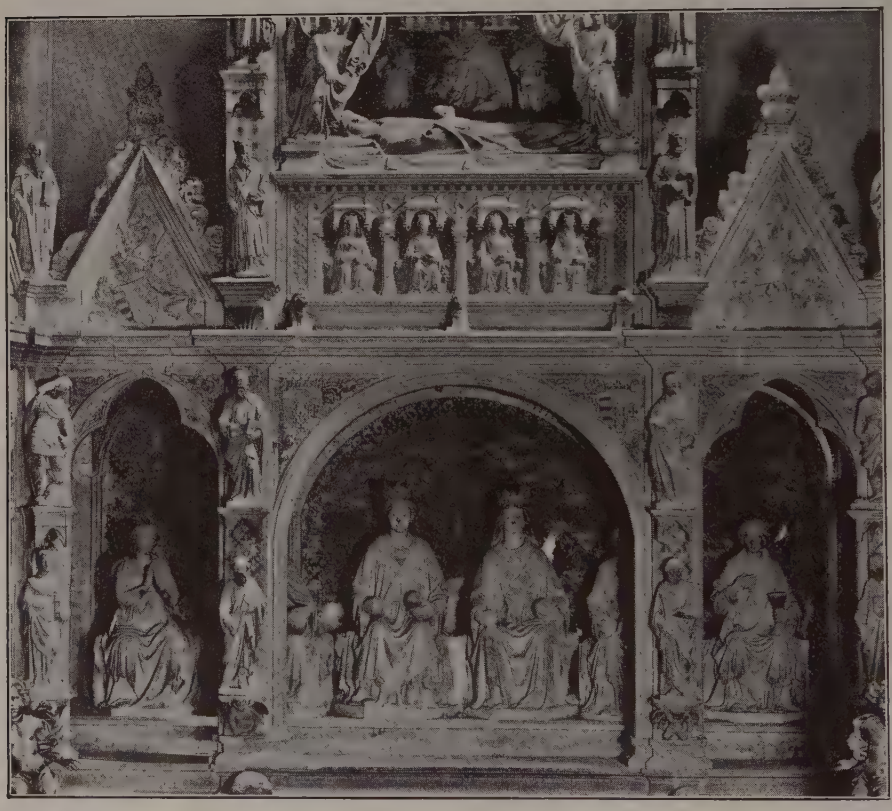


PHOTO BROGI

Fig. 763. — Tomb of King Ladislaus. NAPLES.

Fig. 764. — Tower of the Palazzo Marchessi. PALERMO.

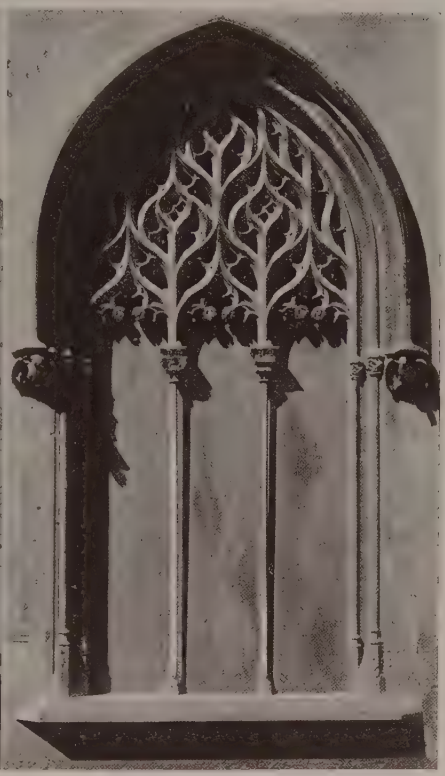


Fig. 765.—Window of the Archiepiscopal Palace. PALERMO.

Gothic monuments of Naples built under the kings of the House of Anjou. It was a French city, particularly during the first years of this dynasty. Charles of Anjou was a French prince, who came accompanied by his court as well as many artists and architects. Chief among the last was one Pierre d'Agincourt. Another French master, also named Pierre, worked on the church of S. Maximino.

The Gothic style continued to be employed all during the Fourteenth Century, although it was later lacking in either method or good taste. In the doorway of S. Giovanni de Pappacoda (fig. 761) the pointed arch is almost smothered with sculptures. In the interior of S. Domenico we again see the sad fate of the Gothic monuments of the Angevine kings (fig. 759). Here the architecture is now covered with Baroque forms and other decorations of plaster, so that the ribs and mouldings of the ogival arches can hardly be recognized.

The manner in which foreign artists contributed to the artistic glory of Naples is extremely interesting. The Angevine kings of Naples, recognizing the supremacy of the Tuscan masters in the field of sculpture, sent to Florence for sculptors to carve their tombs. In the actual sculptural work they applied the principles of Renaissance art, as we see from the angels who hold back the curtains of the tomb of King Robert (fig. 762), and the group of seven

Fig. 766.—Window. *(Cathedral of Messina.)*

allegorical personages contemplating the deceased. But the lines of the monument itself are Gothic, the pointed arches and the buttresses and mouldings as well. The same is true of the tombs of King Ladislaus and the princes interred in the church of S. Chiara at Naples, which served as the royal burial place (figure 763).

The two great castles of Naples, the Castello dell'Ovo and the Castello Nuovo, are fortresses originally constructed in the time of the Swabian rulers, but portions of both date from the period of the Angevine kings. The Castello Nuovo particularly was almost entirely rebuilt by Charles of Anjou. It has the appearance of a French *donjon,* and is a formidable fortress, with high walls, barbicans, battlements, and circular towers at the corners which need only the conical roofs to be taken for those of Pierrefonds or the old Louvre. In the interior is a court leading to a chapel with a groined vault. The stairway, too, is Gothic, but it is a later work, having been built by the Aragonese architects of Alfonso V.

We now come to the last introduction of a foreign Gothic style into Italy by the kings of the House of Aragon. Sicily was conquered by Pedro II, but it was separated from the Kingdom of Aragon at the death of this monarch, who bequeathed it to his younger son. For a long time this branch of the royal family of Aragon maintained its independence, keeping up only casual relations with the sovereigns of the House of Barcelona. Finally Princess Maria, who had inherited the throne of Sicily, married the Infante Martin, heir to the throne of Aragon. From that time on, Sicily continued to share the destinies of Spain down to the middle of the Eighteenth Century.

During the reigns of the Spanish Infante, Martin, and his father, Martin el Humano, who outlived him, Sicily followed the leadership of the Catalan and Valencian architects, who had a style all their own. The Gothic art of France had been transformed in the eastern provinces of Spain

Fig. 767.—Palazzo Finochiaro. RANDAZZO.

Fig. 768. — Court of the Palazzo Marchessi. PALERMO.

into a product peculiar to the land of its adoption. It is not strange, therefore, that we find Catalan and Valencian styles in Sicily, which maintained close relations with these provinces during the Fifteenth Century. This phase of the art of Eastern Spain has been little studied, and it must be admitted that the lack of documents involves the subject in serious difficulties. Many of the structures of Palermo and Southern Italy which bear the marks of Catalan architecture are private palaces; consequently no data regarding them are to be found in the official records. The name of one Mallorcan architect appears in the record office, that of Sagrera, who conducted the rebuilding of the Castello Nuovo at Naples in the reign of Alfonso V. Italian scholars, who know little or nothing of the art of Eastern Spain, have made up for the lack of documentation by ascribing the other private palaces to local artists, many of whose names appear to be merely inventions, and crediting them with the Gothic styles of Catalonia and Aragon.

However, the monuments speak for themselves. One needs but to glance at the reproductions illustrating these pages and to compare them with the Gothic monuments of other parts of Italy. Not only the general lines, but even the details of the mouldings and sculptural decorations, are importations from Spain. The architects must have brought with them not only their own workmen, but also in many cases the carved materials, such as the typical Catalan Gothic capitals which we see in one of the windows of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Palermo (fig. 765), and those of the Palazzo Abbatelli. (Plate XLVIII.) The

Fig. 769. — Palazzo Aiutamicristo. PALERMO.

Archiepiscopal Palace was constructed in 1460, but of the old building only the doorway and the large window divided by two columns remain. The latter is very similar to those of the palace of King Martin at Poblet. In the tower of the Palazzo Marchessi, also at Palermo, there is another window divided by columns, although its style is not so typically that of Eastern Spain (fig. 768). Some of the windows of the cathedral of Messina, which date from the Catalan period, are of a hybrid character (fig. 766).

In the private residences of Randazzo and Taormina we find the Catalan style predominating in a general way (fig. 767). In the Palazzo Marchessi at Palermo the stairway in the court is supported by arches and opens on the exterior, an arrangement which we often find in Catalonia (fig. 768).

The Palazzo Aiutamicristo, built in 1490, has a similar court which resembles the Generalidad of Barcelona even more, because the corridors of the cloister have been preserved intact, unspoiled by later restorations (fig. 769).

The towers of the palaces of the Marchessi and Abbatelli are crowned with battlements and ornamental merlons like those of the *lonjas,* or exchanges, of Palma and Valencia. The Sicilians ascribe this structure to one Matteo Carnevale, but it seems impossible that an Italian architect should have reproduced so perfectly the styles of Eastern Spain. The door is embellished with the emblem of Ferdinand and Isabella, and two inscriptions, one of which states that the palace

Fig. 770. — Doorway of the Palazzo Abbatelli. PALERMO.

Fig. 771. — Doorway of the S. Maria di Gesù. MODICA.

was constructed in 1495 by order of Francesco Patella, the husband of Elianor Soler of Barcelona, *dulcissime coniugis*, *deliciis*, etc. (fig. 770). This Catalan lady, whom the inscription mentions together with her husband, may have had something to do with the style of the building, which is characteristic of her native land. The elements of these Fifteenth-century styles of Catalonia and Valencia are found not only in Palermo, but also in many other Sicilian cities. At Syracuse is the Palazzo Bellomo; at Randazzo, the Palazzo Finochiaro, already cited, and at Taormina, the Palazzo Ciampoli. Feudal tenure of some of these places was

Fig. 772. — Façade of the church of S. Maria della Catena. PALERMO.

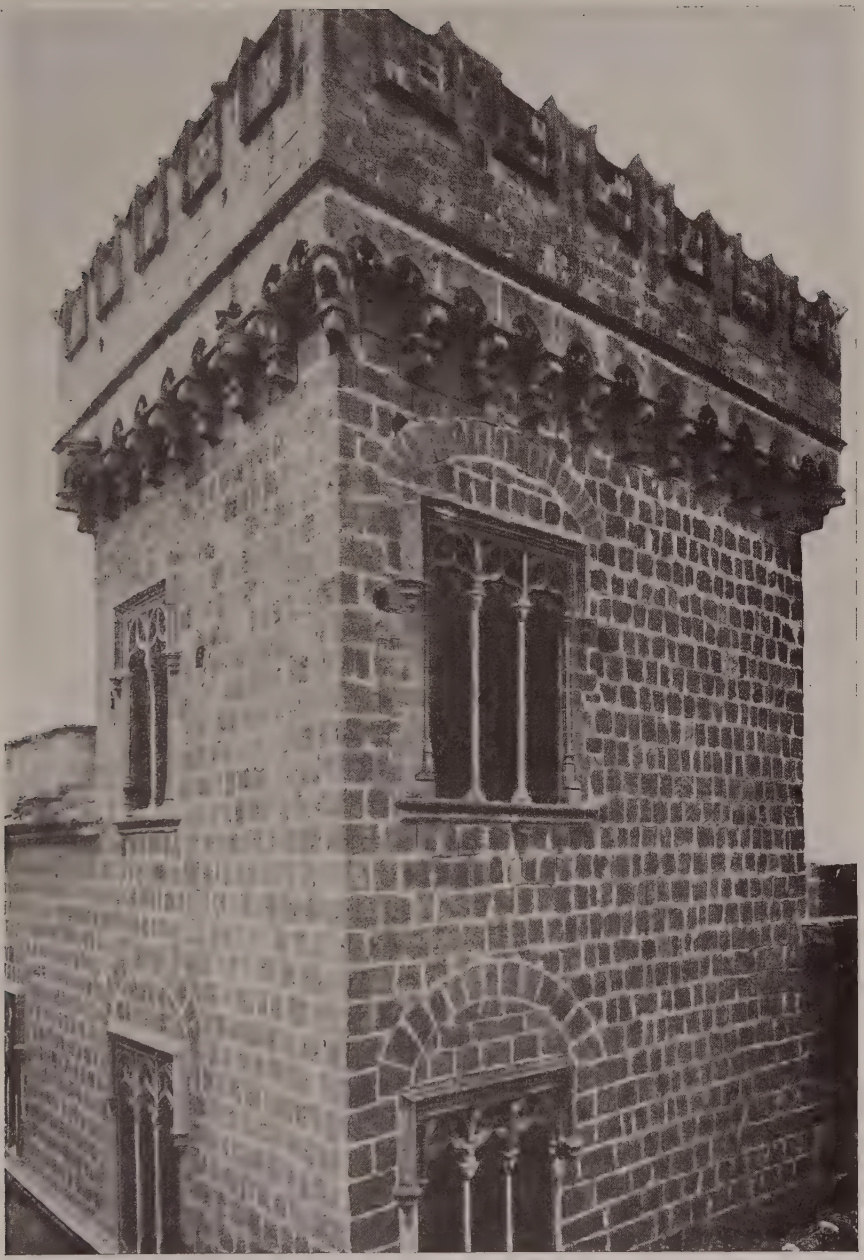
Fig. 773. — Church of S. Giacomo della Marina. PALERMO.

Figs. 774 and 775. — Door and window of the Cathedral of Alghero. SARDINIA.

ceded to Catalan and Aragonese nobles, which would explain to some extent the style of the buildings. Modica, for example, which first belonged to the Chiaramonti family, was later ceded to the Cabreras. It is not surprising, therefore, that the church of S. Maria di Gesù in this town should be built in the Catalan style. Its façade recalls the composition of the Puerta de la Piedad of the cathedral of Barcelona. This church was founded in 1478 by Ana de Cabrera, the wife of the Gran Almirante of the House of Aragon (fig. 771).

The style of Catalonia and Valencia was widely spread over the Island of Sicily. Even the local artists were influenced by it, and at the time of the Renaissance they displayed some reluctance in abandoning the Gothic forms which they had learned for those of ancient Rome. The same thing occurred in Sicily as in Catalonia; the Gothic spirit had not been exhausted but was still developing with more or less vigor when the Renaissance style became the fashion. The Sicilians were compelled to adopt the Corinthian capitals and other features of the classical orders, but whenever an opportunity offered, they still employed the ogival friezes, gargoyles and pinnacles of Gothic architecture. We see the same phenomenon in the palace of the Generalidad at Barcelona, and it occurs repeatedly in Sicily. Perhaps the oldest and best known example of this hybrid art, which is a mixture of the Gothic and classical, is the church of S. Maria della Catena at Palermo dating from the first half of the Fifteenth Century (fig. 772).

This church shows the liberty with which Gothic and classical forms were combined. The columns correspond to the proportions of the Corinthian model as laid down by Vitruvius and copied by the treatise-writers of the Renaissance.



Tower of the Palazzo Abbatelli. PALERMO.

The frieze above the façade, on the other hand, is of Gothic tracery, and we find the same motive as that crowning the palace of King Martin at Poblet and the palace of the Generalidad at Barcelona. The columns supporting the arches of the portico are so well adjusted to the proportions of the Corinthian order that at first they seem to be later than the remainder of the building. One would think that they were new uprights which had replaced the original Gothic piers. Nevertheless, the entire church was built at the same time. But for these architects of Valencia, Barcelona and Palermo, it was easier to introduce some features of the new Renaissance style than it was to produce its spirit and unhesitatingly adopt all its laws, both in the construction and in the friezes and cornices. Another example of the same mixture of forms is the portico of S. Giacomo della Marina at Palermo (fig. 773), which is analogous to that of la Catena. Italians wonder at it, but to whom are familiar with the Lonja at Valencia and the Generalidad at Barcelona, it is merely the same phenomenon of the free introduction of classical features into a Gothic building.

In Sardinia the Gothic style was introduced by Catalan and Valencian architects at an earlier period. Consequently we find it in a purer form than in Sicily. Sardinia was conquered by King Pedro III, the Ceremonious, who founded a Catalan city at Alghero. This was to be a safe seat of authority, even in the not unlikely case of a general insurrection of the inhabitants of the island. The people of this town still speak Catalan, and culturally it is really a part of Catalonia, so it is not strange to find its cathedral entirely built in the Fourteenth-century Gothic style of that country (figs. 774 and 775). The cathedral of Alghero is a Catalan church in a Catalan city, but in the remainder of the island we also find marked traces of the Gothic style peculiar to the lands and colonies of Aragon. The large Franciscan church at Cagliari is a characteristic example of this type, and in a form not so pure we see the Catalan Gothic features in many of the country churches of the island.

PHOTO BROGI

Fig. 776. — Bishop's throne. PALERMO.

It might be well to make a brief survey of Catalan and Valencian Gothic painting and sculpture as introduced into Italy. In Sardinia many of the retablos of the Franciscan church at Cagliari have been identified as the work of Catalan

Fig. 777. — Italian textile of the Fourteenth Century. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

painters of the Fifteenth Century. It is evident that some of them were imported from the studios of Barcelona, but one is signed by John Barcell of Cagliari whose name seems to be Catalan. The archives of Sardinia mention another painter of this period named Picalull. In Sicily, which was for some time the seat of the court, the kings gave a number of commissions to Fifteenth-century Catalan painters, such as the Death of the Virgin, painted on wood, which King Martin ordered in Valencia for the cathedral of Monreale. Later, in the reign of Alfonso V, the Magnanimous, we may say that hardly a day passed that the king did not order from Juan Mercader, his lieutenant in Valencia, paintings, jewels, musical instruments, textiles or arms. We find the names of Catalan and Valencian painters in the royal accounts in the archives at Naples, as well as those of certain goldsmiths and sculptors who were natives of Spain but worked in Sicily and Naples. A typical example of their work is the episcopal throne in the cathedral of Palermo, which was ordered by a Catalan bishop in 1460 (fig. 776).

In the field of minor arts we find many marvelous works produced in Italy during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Many of them have already the spirit of the Renaissance. Their furniture, jewels, and fabrics all prove that the artisans readily participated in the general enthusiasm for the new forms. These

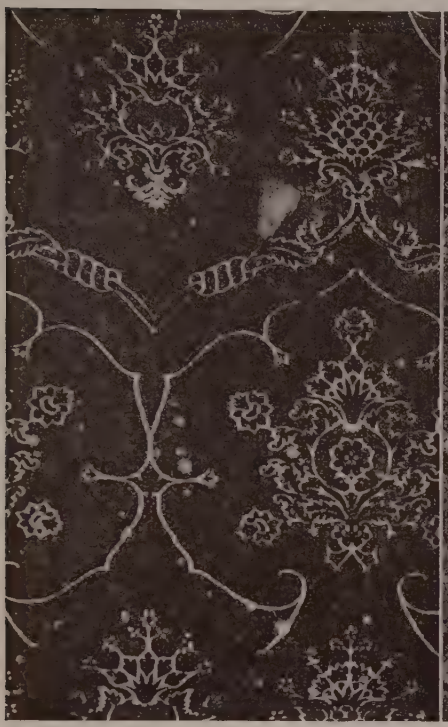


Fig. 778.— Venetian velvets of the Fifteenth Century. *(Museum of Boston.)*

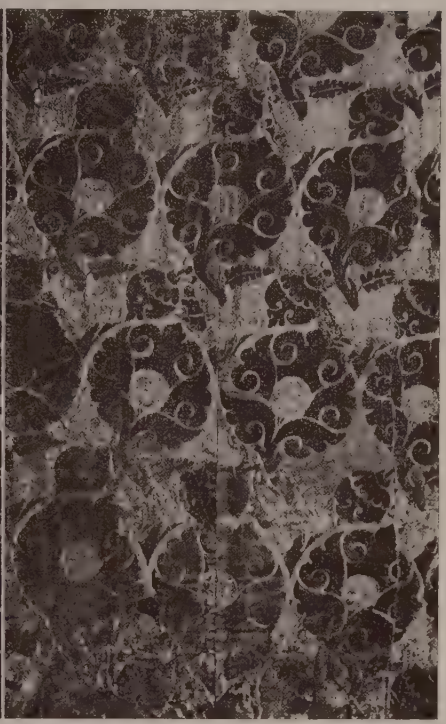


Fig. 779.— Venetian velvets of the Fifteenth Century. *(Museum of Barcelona.)*

will be treated in another chapter; we here reproduce only two specimens of Italian textiles, which still preserve the mediaeval type and whose motives frequently appear on the handsome garments of the personages represented on the altars and miniatures (figs. 777, 778 and 779).

It is extremely difficult to tell in Italy precisely when the Gothic period starts and finishes and when the traditions of Romanesque art are superseded, or when the first deliberate efforts for a classical Renaissance are noticeable. The student of the history of Art has to content himself with the knowledge of the most conspicuous monuments without trying to include them in the regular classifications of the periods of Art and History that can be adopted for the rest of Europe.

Summary. — Gothic art found a number of avenues of approach into Italy, varying according to the region. At Venice the old Byzantine style of that city is combined with the pointed arch, and we have as a result the Doges' Palace, the most important civil monument there. At Milan the cathedral was built during this period. This is for Italy an exotic monument. It is Gothic but with a marked German character. Farther south, in Tuscany and Umbria, the influence of the Cistercian monks was felt who conducted the construction of the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto. The municipal palaces have a very original character; each is crowned with a high tower overlooking the surrounding country. Among the Gothic churches is that of S. Francesco at Assisi which was built soon after the death of the Saint with contributions from every Christian land. At Rome the Dominican church of *La Minerva* is pure Gothic. In Southern Italy and Sicily we find three different importations of the Gothic styles; first when Emperor Frederick II received architects and artists

among the French refugees from the Holy Land and Cyprus; next when Charles of Anjou was given the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the Pope and established a French court at Naples; and finally when Sicily was ceded to the crown of Aragon through the marriage of the Infante with the Sicilian princess who was heiress to the throne of the island. From this time on, Sicily was strongly influenced by the artists of Valencia and Catalonia; it remained a part of Spain until the Bourbon period.

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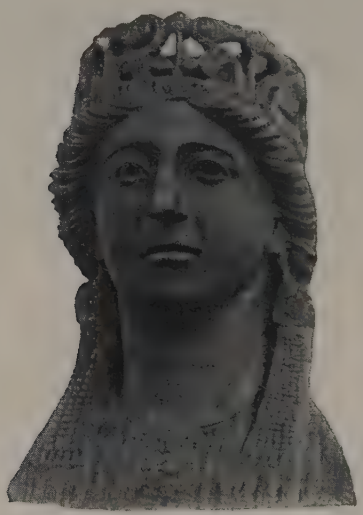

Fig. 780.— So-called bust of Siglaita. *(Cathedral of Ravello.)*

Fig. 781.—Lincoln Cathedral. ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XIX

GOTHIC ART IN GERMANY AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL EUROPE.
GOTHIC ART IN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.
GOTHIC ART IN ENGLAND.—GOTHIC ART IN THE ORIENT.

As we have already noted, the erroneous supposition that Gothic architecture originated in Germany has given rise to much argument, for it was held that it was characteristic of the German people with its somber romanticism and its mysterious and fanciful complexity. The Germans, taking the treatises of the Renaissance writers as their authority, sincerely believed that the style of these cathedrals, with their forests of spires, buttresses and columns, originated on the banks of the Rhine. Down to the time of the Romanticists, particularly Victor Hugo and Chateaubriand, the French continued to fall into the same error, but, as we have noted, the actual course of events was something very different. The Romanesque style of the Cluny and Cistercian monks had prepared the ground for the coming of Gothic architecture in that these builders gave an ever-increasing importance to the vault and the elements which resisted its lateral thrust. "To Northern France," we are told by Anton Springer, the German art historian, "belongs the honor of having originated the new style. In the field of art France commemorated the supremacy which she had won during the period of the Crusades. The increasing power of the bourgeoisie, protected by the kings and religious orders, put France in the first ranks at the beginning

Fig. 782. — Cathedral of Freiburg. GERMANY.

of the Thirteenth Century." Germany, on the other hand, adopted a style already formed. As soon as the Gothic style had taken definite shape, it was introduced into Germany. We have seen how the French architects of the Thirteenth Century travelled in Central Europe, like Villard de Honnecourt. One of the old chronicles tells us that the church of Wimpfen im Thal was constructed by a master-builder from Paris according to the French style *(opus francigenum)*. The cathedral of Cologne, which is the finest example of Gothic architecture in Germany, was planned by an architect who either was French or, at least, had worked on the cathedral of Amiens, for he was evidently familiar with many of the details of the latter church. The German cathedrals are often embellished with magnificent façades, and high slender towers surmounted by spires of stone

tracery, but their interiors lack the harmonious proportions of the French cathedrals. Their naves and aisles are too long, and rather dark in spite of the great windows which fill the wall spaces. In the last years of the Romanesque period in Germany we begin to find certain Gothic forms, although the building as a whole remains quite Romanesque. This is the case with the cathedral of Bonn. Suddenly, between the years 1261 and 1278, we find a monument in the pointed style, that is, the abbey church of Wimpfen im Thal. After that many Gothic churches were built in the French style, like St. Elisabeth of Marburg and the Liebfrauenkirche at Treves.

Another church in the French style is the cathedral at Freiburg, a graceful structure with a nave and two aisles. On the façade is a magnificent tower directly in front of the nave. It was begun in 1253 and continued in 1354, after a long interruption, by Johannes of Gmünd. The exterior of the apse, with its ambulatory and chapels, is extremely beautiful, particularly the slender pinnacles and the open work of the flying buttresses (figs. 782 and 783).

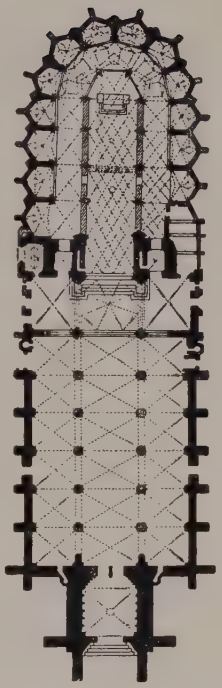

Fig. 783. — Plan of the cathedral of Freiburg.

We immediately see that these Gothic churches preserve nothing of the traditional plan of the German Romanesque cathedrals, with their two apses facing one another, double crossings and lateral entrances. The French Gothic style was adopted unreservedly, not only in its structural and decorative features, but even in the general arrangement of the building. Behind the façade is a nave flanked by two aisles, with the usual portals, crossing and apse, the last more or less complicated by its ambulatory and chapels.

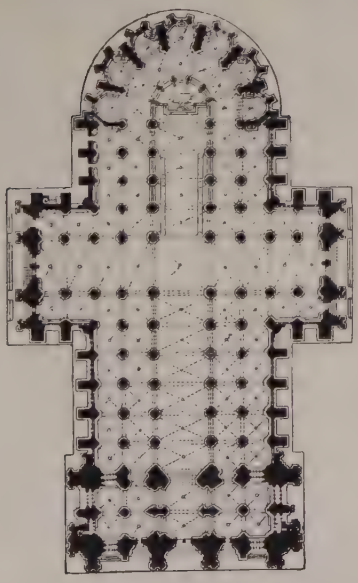

Fig. 784.—Plan of Cologne Cathedral.

There is little that is purely German in Cologne cathedral, which still preserves its French style (figs. 784 to 788). Nevertheless, this vast project was a truly national work in which the German people have continued construction down to our own times. Its present marvelous beauty and perfection was not fully achieved until the church was completed a little over a generation ago. There had been in Cologne an older cathedral, but after it was burned in 1248 it was rebuilt completely in the Gothic style. The apse, which is the oldest portion, was constructed by a certain Meister Gerard, but the work on the building progressed slowly. Gerard was succeeded by one Arnold, whose son, Johan,

Fig. 785. — Portal of Cologne Cathedral.

Fig. 786. — Pinnacles of the cathedral.

is mentioned as directing building operations about 1330.

To give some idea of how slowly the building was constructed, we need only mention the fact that the choir was not consecrated until 1322. Work on the structure continued until the Sixteenth Century, when it suffered a long interruption; it was not recommenced until 1817, and was completed only in 1880. The cathedral is enormous: it is some four hundred forty feet long, and at the transepts is over two hundred eighty feet wide.

The plan is similar to that of the cathedral of Amiens, although the Cologne structure contains a nave and four aisles. The nave itself might be considered somewhat too long and narrow, but the interior of the church in general produces a splendid effect with the countless mouldings running down its clustered columns (fig. 787). The exterior of the cathedral possesses a richness that is extraordinary. The apse, surrounded by the vaults of its ambulatories and chapels, is surmounted by a forest of pinnacles and buttresses. Over the crossing is a small spire, but the finest feature of all consists of the two towers. Here we have not a single one as at Freiburg, but two lofty spires whose stone tracery is often hidden in the mists that frequently shroud the cities along the Rhine (fig. 786). These spires are not of the same height: one rises five hundred twelve feet in the air, and the other, about four hundred eighty. The entire façade seems but the base of these two enormous towers which pierce the sky. Here the portals, which are the main feature at

Amiens and Chartres, are dwarfed. The attention of the beholder is drawn involuntarily to these tall spires, and his eye does not pause to rest upon the façade beneath.

We add an example of the stained glass in the cathedral of Cologne, executed between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (fig. 789), also one of the tombs of the archbishops of the cathedral (fig. 832). It seems hardly necessary to give specimens of the minor arts, such as goldsmiths' work, as they would correspond to the types which we have already studied.

Fig. 787. — Interior of the cathedral of Cologne.

Famous, too, are the German castles along the Rhine, many of which have been restored in recent years. They usually crown a precipice overlooking the river. Here we find a fortified enclosure with battlements forming a terrace above the valley; and in the centre is the castle-building itself, with its high square tower and a little church at one side. Besides the castles of the individual nobles, the knights of the Teutonic Order constructed a fortress at Marienburg in Prussia, which was the residence of their Grand Master. Begun in the Thirteenth Century in the pointed French style, it was constantly enlarged as time went on, for the Order was a wealthy one. At first it consisted of a massive castle, the buildings of which surrounded a central court. It was defended by thick walls and a moat into which the chapel projects. Later, additional structures were built for the accommodation of guests, also a great hall for the chapter of the Order and a palace for its Grand Master, comprising in all three spacious wings or units.

Fig. 788. — Buttresses of the cathedral of Cologne.

Fig. 789.—Stained glass in the cathedral of Cologne.

About the same time the free cities of the Rhine and of Central Germany became inspired by a wave of local patriotism. During the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries they constructed many of the monumental gates which we still find in these cities, such as the Severins-Thor at Cologne and those of Lübeck. The gate usually pierces a tower which is covered with a pointed roof, and its colored tiles can be seen from a considerable distance. Some of these towers are now engulfed in the buildings of the city, which has spread into the suburbs, and, like those of Freiburg with their clocks and bells, dominate the square beneath (figures 790 and 791).

The various organizations of the people also raised large municipal buildings. The oldest of these in Germany, it is believed, is at Aix-la-Chapelle. Here are statues of the Electors of the Empire in the Thirteenth Century. All the German cities vied with one another in their desire to possess the finest town hall of the period. Usually such a Rathaus contained a hall for executing contracts, one for public meetings and another for the courts of justice. Later, the needs of the municipality called for other apartments, such as one for the city council and others for offices and various administrative purposes. These were grouped around the original nucleus in whatever way seemed most convenient. An excellent example of these Rathäuser is that of Lübeck, the great free city of the Baltic. About this Gothic brick structure were the guild-houses, with their emblems painted in bright colors and with statues of their warriors, of the Virtues, or of Justice. The attributes of these figures were gracefully carved and the sculptures were polycrome, delighting the hearts of the good German burghers, who had hardly more than emerged from their first and simply organized civilization (fig. 792).

Some cities like Cologne and Nuremberg still retain entire quarters composed of wooden houses. The old shops of the artisans are survivals from the communal life of the Gothic period.

During this period the German house constituted a type the arrangement of which contrasted strongly with the ancient Roman dwelling. The latter was

entirely closed to the street and its apartments extended around a court; but in the Middle Ages the house opened to the street; there was a shop in front, and numerous windows in the upper stories. These German dwellings were usually high and the façade terminated in a gable-end. The court served only to light the back part. Here, too, was another façade, similar to the one facing the street, but simpler. The arrangement of a burgher's house, whether in Cologne, Nuremberg or Lübeck, was always more or less the same. On the lower floor was a shop, a backroom and a workshop opening on the court. A small stairway led to the next story, which contained the kitchen and perhaps two apartments, one of them being that of the head of the family and opening on the street. The other looked out on the court. The children, servants and apprentices occupied the attic rooms under the roof, of which there were several stories lighted by dormer windows. The lower part of the house was usually of stone and bore the sign or emblem of the shop, often an elaborate affair of wrought iron. When the wall-space permitted, it was decorated with frescoes taken from the German mediaeval repertory. We find the vices and virtues, saints, prophets, and scenes from the romances of chivalry, also Latin couplets or popular verses painted in the Gothic characters of the country.

Fig. 790. — Martinsthor. FREIBURG.

Fig. 791. Schwabenthor. FREIBURG.

Sometimes the houses were of wood, and then the façade was more richly adorned with friezes of little arches, pilasters capped with pinnacles and doors and windows surrounded with a profusion of ornamental motives. Some of the houses had balconies projecting over the street, with handsomely carved brackets and railings.

During the last part of the Gothic

Fig. 792. — Façade of the Kaufhaus, or Merchants' Hall. Freiburg.

period the sculptural decoration became the most noteworthy feature of the German style. The personages, dressed in the costumes of the country, accentuate the Germanic character of the reliefs and small statues. Also, the manner of superimposing various elements is very original. We find interlacing arches, twisting pinnacles, and friezes of sprouting plant-forms, particularly thistles and a variety of cabbage leaves also twisted in the style of this time. In the city squares were erected fountains, with the figure of some popular character from the local folk-lore rising from the centre. We also find Bible characters and national heroes, set on pyramids of Gothic pinnacles, as on the Schöne Brunnen at Nuremberg. This fountain was constructed between 1385 and 1396 by Master Heinrich der Balier (fig. 793). To add to their attractiveness the figures were often painted. The statues and relief-figures are clad in the colored garments of the time, and their faces bear a charming expression that is at once simple and unconstrained. The idea of beauty seems to be one of amiability and, we might say, innocence. We discern the effect of the poems of the Minnesinger, who had by this time fallen into a rhetorical conventionality and an affected tenderness.

Another cathedral built in the German Gothic style is that of Basel in Switzerland. Like the one at Strassbourg, which it greatly resembles, portions of the apse and transepts are Romanesque. The cathedral at Berne, which is somewhat later, is entirely in the German Gothic style of the late Fourteenth Century, now characteristic of the country. But the western cantons of Switzerland fell mainly in the field of French art. The cathedrals of Geneva and Lausanne are extremely French; the latter has been restored by Viollet-le-Duc and completed with a lead-roofed spire over the crossing.

The cathedral of Lausanne has a very beautiful interior. Now a Protestant church, it is not loaded down with altars and ornamentation, and we are able to study the structural character of the building better than in any other French Gothic cathedral. The interior is really the work of the Thirteenth Century. The outside has, perhaps, been excessively restored, but we find many graceful

Fig. 793. — The Schöne Brunnen.
NUREMBERG.

Fig. 794. — Cathedral of Lausanne.
(Canton de Vaud.) SWITZERLAND.

details, such as the small lateral porch with its windows divided by slender columns (fig. 794).

The cathedral at Geneva still retains some of its Romanesque features, and its style is not as uniform as that of Lausanne. It is disfigured by a Calvinist façade in a pseudo-classical style. But the interior of the old church has remained intact. The only effect of the Reformation was to take away the altars. The noble lines of its architecture are beautified by the rather sombre greenish gray surface of the stone.

The Swiss cities, like those of Germany, had their town halls. They are perhaps somewhat simpler and have the solidity and plain appearance of a country residence, like the municipal hall at Lausanne, which is a rectangular structure. There were towers and ornamental fountains similar to those of the German towns. and also decorated with allegorical figures.

A small country threatened on every hand, mediaeval Switzerland had need of fortresses to defend the strategic passes through the Alps. In the Canton of Valais, the upper valley of the Rhone which leads to the Simplon and St. Bernard, is strewn with castles. In Plate XLIX we see two hills overlooking the valley of the Rhone and crowned with fortifications that are half Italian, for at that time Valais was subject to the House of Savoy, which had vast possessions on the other side of the Alps.

Perhaps the most famous of the castles of Europe is that of Chillon, built on a little island at one end of Lake Geneva (figs. 796 and 797). The main struc-

Fig. 795. — Apse of the cathedral of Geneva.

ture is pure Thirteenth-century Gothic, in particular the massive ribbed vaults of the dungeon-crypt, which inspired Lord Byron's well known poem. But the old castle of the Dukes of Savoy has been restored and enlarged in later times until it has lost to some extent its original warlike aspect. It has taken on a more intimate and domestic appearance, especially in the large halls used as living apartments (fig. 797).

Beyond the Rhine and the Alps, the expansive force inherent in Gothic art carried it through Central Europe and on to Poland and Scandinavia, then the edge of the civilized world. In Bavaria and Austria the three great cathedrals of Ulm, Ratisbon and Vienna overlook the Danube. That of Ulm, begun in the late Fourteenth Century, has a nave and two aisles supported by cylindrical columns, which give it an extremely cold appearance. Ratisbon Cathedral is purer; its style is almost French Gothic. Indeed, the architect had worked on the cathedral of Dijon. On the rich façade are two open towers separated by a triangular pediment in front of the nave. The cathedral of Vienna, dedicated to St. Stephen, also consists of a nave and two aisles, but is more original. Its exterior is enlivened by the brilliantly colored glazed tiles of the steep roof (fig. 799). It was commenced rather late in the Gothic period and was not completed until about the end of the Fifteenth Century. No one plan was rigidly adhered to as in the case of the cathedral of Cologne, so we find the later portion covered with a complicated system of vaulting at variance with the pure pointed style of the choir and transept. The tower is extremely beautiful; it is surmounted by a graceful Gothic spire in the elegant and elaborate style of the Fifteenth Century. One side of the church, by the tower, has been restored in the same style, but only in part, so that the entire structure is rather lacking in unity.

In Poland the principal Gothic buildings date from the last part of this period, that is, about the end of the Fifteenth Century. Take for example the fortified city-gate of Cracow called the Florianerthor (fig. 800), and the old University building, with its characteristic court surrounded by a low cloister of spiral striate columns and protected by widely projecting eaves (fig. 801).

In Bohemia we might mention the cathedral of Prague, a rather unusual example of the French Gothic, supposed to have been planned by an architect

A

B

CASTLES OF THE CANTON OF VALAIS

A. Church and castle of La Valere. — B. Castle of Sion.

from Arras. The roof of the nave is raised high in the air and its thrust is arrested by a remarkable series of superimposed flying buttresses which produce a rather fanciful and theatrical effect. Gothic architecture continued to spread over Central Europe, at first in a pure form owing to the efforts of the French monks and architects. Their immediate successors, however, arranged Gothic elements in a somewhat different manner, so that the elegance of the French architecture of St. Louis was often lost in the cities along the rivers flowing into the North or the Black Sea. And yet these semi-Oriental nations of Central Europe have always felt a love and sympathy for Gothic art and for France. In Hungary many people have a knowledge of French, and some modern buildings like the Parliament at Buda-Pest have been built in the Gothic style. Still farther away, on the shores of the Baltic Sea on the very edge of what was then the civilized world, among barbarians only recently converted to Christianity, we find the art of France spreading at the middle of the Thirteenth Century. *Latomus qui tunc noviter de villa Parisiensi*, as we read in a German document of the period.

Fig. 796. — Castle of Chillon. SWITZERLAND.

Gothic art extended even to the edge of Russia. The cathedral of Riga is built in the French style, as is that of Abo in Finland. Sweden and Norway were influenced by the German brick construction and by the English Gothic style, as well as by the pure French Gothic imported by masters from that country. Etienne de Bonneuil, who was the architect of the cathedral of Upsala, had been one of the master-builders of the king of France. Accompanied by ten others, he went to Sweden in 1287 to direct the work on the new cathedral which was to be as fine as that of Paris. The church was not conse-

Fig. 797. Dining hall of the Castle of Chillon. SWITZERLAND.

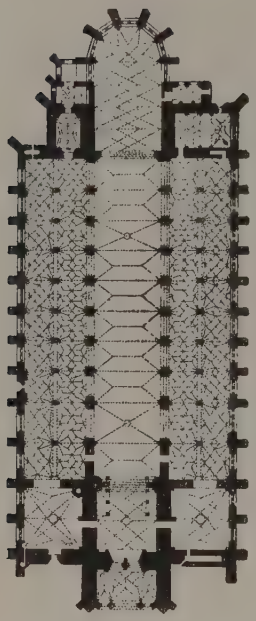

Fig. 798. — Plan of the cathedral of Ulm.

crated, however, until 1435, which accounts for the numerous details in the German style (fig. 805). But the choir of the cathedral of Trondhjem and the octagonal church of St. Olaf may be considered English importations into Scandinavia. In Denmark the cathedral of Roskilde recalls the brick construction of Northern Germany (fig. 805).

The nations of the North never understood the mediaeval European styles as did those of the centre of the Continent and the people of the British Isles. French influences reached them later than in Central Europe, and these teachings had hardly been assimilated when the Renaissance spread to the North Sea. Consequently, the new elements of the latter were employed in the peculiar manner which we see in the great castles of Denmark. The people wished to preserve their own art, which we still find in the old villages, and which has impressed its seal on the modern style of the country in a manner that is unmistakable. The pointed style was really popular only among the upper classes; it never came to be the style of the private dwellings as in Germany. Only in the churches, for which artists and architects were brought from distant lands, do we find the peculiar stamp of the great style of the Middle Ages.

The cathedral of Roskilde is perhaps the most characteristic monument of this period. In spite of various influences, it still retains an archaic appearance more than almost any of the larger older structures of Scandinavia. This may explain the veneration which it inspires. The cathedral of Upsala has undergone so many restorations that it no longer preserves any local character which it may have had. When the Swedish nation awakened in the glorious reign of Gustavus Adolphus, the Middle Ages, in which the cathedral of Upsala displayed its beauty to the people, had passed.

Fig. 799. — Cathedral of Vienna.

Belgium and Holland. — The geographical situation of Belgium

Fig. 800. — Florianerthor. Cracow.

and Holland is such that these countries could not but receive the Gothic style directly from France. The cathedral of Antwerp was the most ambitiously planned of all the Belgian churches. It has a nave and six aisles, and its towers rise proudly in the air. One has no spire, but the other soars to a height of four hundred feet, like a solitary belfry, and is the handsomest of the towers of Belgium (fig. 807). The apse of this cathedral was begun by Jean Amel or Appelmans in 1352, but work on the structure continued until the end of the Fifteenth Century.

The cathedral of Brussels, dedicated to St. Gudule, was begun in 1220, and the apse and ambulatory are still in the pure French style. The façade is flanked by two square towers. If spires had been added they would be very similar to the tower of Antwerp Cathedral. Another of the churches of Brussels, that of Notre Dame, has an apse which recalls in some respects that of Rheims Cathedral.

In the two Gothic churches of Notre Dame and St. Sauveur at Bruges the national style of France is not yet thoroughly assimilated. The tower of the latter is still almost Romanesque. The nave and aisles, however, are pure French Gothic. The mouldings descend the piers from the vaults to the floor (fig. 808). But such an arrangement did not long endure in Belgium; soon the vaults began to rest upon plain cylindrical pillars instead of clustered columns, and the decorative sculpture took on a light and cheerful aspect entirely in keeping with the jovial character of the Flemish and Dutch artists. In the Fourteenth Century we find the churches of the Low Countries losing the rigidity and severity characteristic of French architecture. But by this time the most important buildings, perhaps, were those of a civil character. The various guilds of burghers began

Fig. 801. –Court of the old University at Cracow, Poland.

to erect guild-halls and civic buildings, and on the main squares of their cities they built great city-halls and other municipal buildings customary in Europe at this time. The finest of these public buildings was the Cloth Hall at Ypres, with its square tower rising above the steep roof of the long three storied structure. It was begun in 1200 but not completed until 1304 (fig. 809). It was really a cloth market, for weaving was the principal industry of the Low Countries. At Bruges there were two of these cloth markets, one called the Halle de l'Eau, and another Thirteenth-century structure which remains intact up to the present. It has no such façade as the one at Ypres and the massive square tower rises from the centre and dominates the entire structure. Some of

Fig. 802. — Cathedral of Prague.

Fig. 803. — Clock-tower of the old Rathaus at Prague.

Fig. 804. — Tower on the Carlsbrücke. PRAGUE.

Fig. 805. — Cathedral of Upsala. SWEDEN.

these cities, like Ypres and Antwerp, also preserve their meat markets; indeed, the manufacture of sausage was an important industry in these countries.

Bruges, Louvain and Brussels each had its Hôtel-de-Ville, as did many of the smaller towns, which built them out of all proportion to the size of the town itself. They are nearly all built on about the same plan. We find a large building of several stories with a long façade. On the lower floor is a portico which served as a market, and the structure is surmounted by a square clock-tower or belfry from which the alarm was rung in times of danger. Sometimes the Hôtel-de-Ville consists of four wings surrounding a court, but it is usually a compact building covered by a single roof and capped by its tower.

The city hall at Bruges was begun in 1377. It is a tall, rectangular structure reënforced with buttresses, between which are niches and windows. The niches contained statues of the Counts of Flanders, but these disappeared about the end of the Eighteenth Century and have been restored only in recent times. The Hôtel-de-Ville at Brussels is the most correct as well as the richest in its style. It has the same rectangular outline, from which a central tower projects, and was completed in the last years of the Gothic period. The architects were local men, but the last director of

Fig. 806. — Cathedral of Roskilde. DENMARK.

the work, a Fleming by the name of Jan van Ruysbroek, finished the structure during the Spanish domination of the country. The city halls at Ghent and Oudenarde and the *Maison du Roi* at Brussels were also constructed during the Spanish period. The last is the handsomest building in all Flanders (fig. 810). In spite of the bad reputation of the Spanish administration in the Low Countries, these magnificent municipal buildings and the many Spanish books printed there during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries go to show that the government of the viceroys was in no way detrimental to the art and culture of the country.

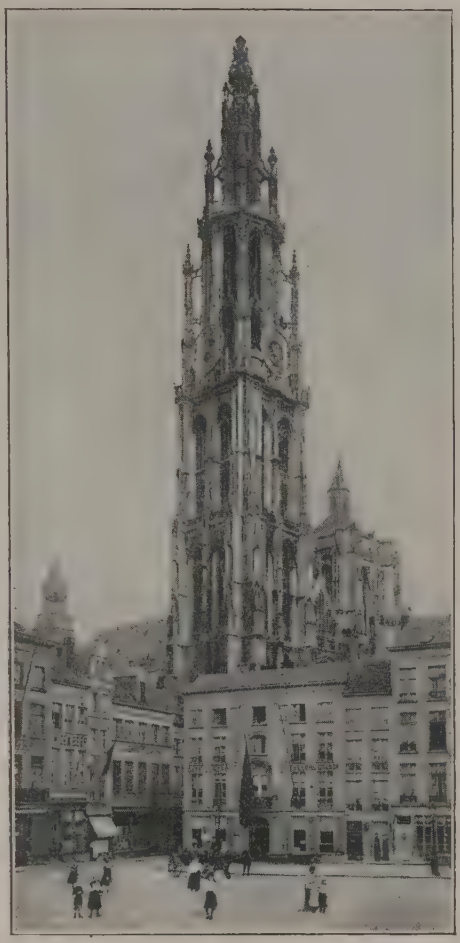

Fig. 807. — Belfry of the cathedral of Antwerp.

Of a different character, and mediaeval in every respect, is the formidable castle of the Counts of Flanders at Ghent. It consists of a great walled enclosure interrupted at intervals by round towers and bastions, and is one of the most imposing fortresses of Europe.

In Holland, Gothic art spread from a local centre at Tournai. In the cathedral of this city we still find much of the German Romanesque style, but near by there are four churches which are genuinely French, constructed in the Thirteenth Century. In both Belgium and Holland we find many private houses built in the Gothic style; indeed, in some cities whole streets still retain their mediaeval appearance, like certain portions of Bruges, which the centuries have left unchanged (fig. 811).

Many Thirteenth Century houses remain standing in Tournai, and there are some in Brussels, but most of all at Bruges, that deserted old city which was such a remarkable centre of commercial activity during the Fifteenth Century. The rich merchants of Bruges were generous patrons of the arts. In the following chapter we shall see the important part taken by this city in the formation and spread of a new Renaissance style in the countries of Northern and Central Europe. Its streets are still lined with long rows of houses, with the Gothic façades typical of the Low Countries surmounted by stepped gable roofs. The pictures and altar-screens of the painters of this period give us an excellent

Fig. 808. — Nave of St. Sauveur. Bruges.

idea of the luxurious interiors of the homes of these Flemish merchants, with their elegant but substantial furniture, rich carpets and Oriental tapestries. The rooms were enriched with Gothic wood work, and well lighted by large windows filled with stained glass.

England.—While French Gothic is deservedly considered the central and principal style of later mediaeval architecture, the collateral English style is of great interest because it anticipated some of the developments of French work, and for its own sake as well. The ideals which the insular builders set themselves were somewhat different from those of the Continent; their conservatism and their inventiveness both followed other than Continental channels, with a result that is markedly individual. As in France and elsewhere, the growth of the style may be traced most easily in ecclesiastical building, and it is with this that we shall first be concerned.

Fig. 809. — The Cloth Hall before its destruction. Ypres.

It is worthy of remark that much of the old Saxon tradition survived in Gothic times. Their characteristic tendency to smallness of scale in elements and details, their use of small portals, open trussed roofs, and rectangular sanctuaries, all are

carried down to the late Middle Ages. Much more remains of the tradition of the conquering Normans: their habit of sturdy wall building and original vault building, their long naves and transepts, their lantern and flanking towers, their turrets and spires, their reliance on complicated architectural membering rather than on figure sculpture for the embellishment of their buildings — all had an effect on the English Gothic style. The Cistercians did their part in popularizing the pointed style, for they built much in England; their fine abbeys, as already mentioned, disaffected at the Reformation, are now in the condition of romantic and beautiful ruins. The French architect, William of Sens, who came to Canterbury during the late Twelfth Century reconstruction of the cathedral there, brought with him the austere early Gothic style of the cathedral of Sens. Thus the French influence which came to England tended on the whole to confirm traits which are traceable in earlier English architecture. The school of the Ile-de-France, quite definitely formed by the end of the Twelfth Century, had singularly little direct influence. Westminster Abbey, begun in 1245, is a solitary instance in England of French Gothic of the Ile-de-France. It was constructed in the best days of the French style, but the strength and independence of the local style resisted this kind of importation — there is, in fact, a certain insular feeling in this, the most French of English churches (fig. 814).

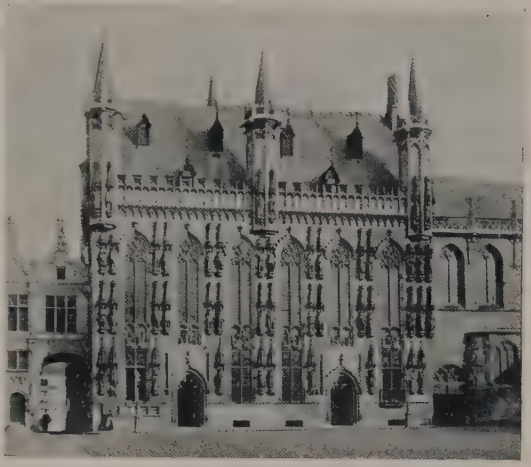

Fig. 810. — Municipal building. Bruges.

Fig. 811. - Municipal building. Brussels.

Thus the background of

Fig. 812. — Maison du Roi. Brussels.

English Gothic is Norman and Cistercian. In neither the Norman nor the Cistercian school was there much interest in size for its own sake, and the English received no impulse to join the competition which produced such marvels of height and spaciousness in northern France. The English style which took on a national flavor in the decades following 1180 was, in comparison with the French, very modest. Such sublimity as the buildings have is due to their aspiring towers and their relative length. The English then as now cared for their fine old buildings, and so it is that we find little attempt at unity of style. Few of the greater churches are homogeneous; most of them have work of several periods. The cathedrals were as a rule prosperous foundations situated in the country, usually on charming sites, and this of itself encouraged a very different handling than that of the city-built French cathe-

Fig. 813. — Mediaeval houses. Bruges.

drals. The interiors of the larger English churches are remarkable for their long vistas, but otherwise rather for small scale and intimacy than for grandeur. In England the intrusion of the choir into the nave (so common in Spanish churches) is rare. Rather do we find the English rebuilding and extending the east ends of their churches — sometimes more than once — in order to provide the spacious choir and sanctuaries called for by the numerous clergy and the elaborate liturgy of the period. We find them adopting the archepiscopal cross plan, a Burgundian invention, because it was a satisfactory architectural solution of the space requirements.

Fig. 814. — Interior of Westminster Abbey.

With these considerations in mind, it is interesting to compare the cathedrals of Amiens (fig. 584) and Salisbury (fig. 815), both begun in the year 1220 and representing the first phase of the fully developed Gothic in France and

Fig. 815. — Salisbury Cathedral.

Fig. 816.—Interior of Salisbury Cathedral.

England respectively. The English church has about the same length as the French, but it is only half as high. Its walls, pierced by simple lancets and much less open than those of the French example, furnish a part of the abutment of the vault; and this vault, being low and of moderate span, is maintained in place by a simple buttress system. The French chevet does not occur at Salisbury. What the building loses of picturesqueness in this way is made up by the interesting arrangement of the minor masses of the building, and, above all, by the beautiful central tower. At the west there is a façade of the kind known as a screen front—an English invention designed to compensate for the lack of monumental portals—; these façades were decorated with rows of carved figures, but never achieved anything like the success of the French façades. The most important entrance at Salisbury, as at many another English church, is not in the west front at all, but through a characteristic north porch near the west end of the nave. The interior of Salisbury (fig. 816) seems rather larger than it is, owing to the small scale and multiplicity of the architectural membering. It has unfortunately been cleared of the old screens and other minor features which made pleasant and interesting incidents in the general effect, but it still retains a fine dignity. Dryness in the handling of details, very noticeable at Salisbury, is characteristic of English work of the period. This same dryness appears in Continental work of the following century.

The cathedral of Salisbury is a consistent example of what is called the Early English style, a manner of building current in England throughout most of the Thirteenth Century. In the second half of the century the beginnings of the next phase, the Decorated style, are apparent. The new style continued to develop in the Fourteenth Century, and attempted, by employing richer architectural membering and sculpture, to break away from the earlier dryness. In

Fig. 817. — Interior of Lincoln Cathedral.

the early examples, termed "Geometrical," the success is moderate; in the later, called "Curvilinear" or "Flowing," a new softness and charm appear in the handling. The terms refer to the character of the generating lines of the ornament, and explain themselves. The Angel Choir of Lincoln cathedral (1255-1280) (fig. 817) is an example of Geometrical Decorated; the handsome lantern is also, but verges on the Flowing, which in turn is represented in the upper stages of the western towers. Striking as this cathedral is, beautifully set on a high hill above an extensive valley, it is less impressive than formerly, for it has lost its three old spires, the central one of which reached, it is said, a height of 525 feet: the highest of mediaeval towers, if our source is to be believed (fig. 781).

Fig. 818. — Interior of the cathedral of Exeter.

Fig. 819. — Gloucester Cathedral from the East.

Lincoln has also what is perhaps the earliest example of another development which helps to characterize the Decorated style—namely, the multiplication of ribs in the vaulting. The ordinary quadripartite vault must be built with its cells slightly domed, and with the stones of the individual arches carefully cut, in order to allow for this bulging surface and yet reach an even joint at the ridge. The English, in order to obtain a horizontal ridge and to simplify the cutting of the stones comprising the cells, introduced the ridge rib. This rib is unnecessary in the French manner of vault building, but in English vaulting it is needed to support the ends of the filling arches, some of which reach the crown, and to hide the irregular joint thus made. In order to hold the horizontal ridge rib in place the builders were obliged to introduce additional supporting ribs called tiercerons. Beautiful trumpet-like effects, very different from French vaulting, were produced by this method, as at Exeter (fig. 818). This is a Fourteenth Century cathedral, and it has decoration of the Flowing type, much resembling French Flamboyant, but it is not an early example. Reverse curve decoration appears just before 1300; it was popularized in the first part of the new century, and it is believed that it was transmitted to France, where it had a long and interesting history as the Flamboyant style. A later development of Decorated vaulting, in which short cross-ribs called liernes were introduced between the supporting ribs, forming elaborate patterns (often star-shaped) in plan, was also taken up on the Continent.

Meanwhile at Gloucester the third of the English styles was being invented. In the years following 1331 the south transept of the Norman abbey church, now the cathedral, was recut on the interior with an elaborate decoration of repeating panel-work arranged in vertical lines. The decoration characteristically

Fig. 820. — Cloister of Gloucester cathedral.

covers all of the wall surface, with a consequent emphasis on the vertical; from this the style receives its name, the Perpendicular. The choir of Gloucester was subsequently rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, and it is interesting to note that the Norman ambulatory and absidal chapels were destroyed to make way for a square east end — in this case pierced by a magnificent east window. Over the crossing was raised a most beautiful tower, perhaps the finest in all England (fig. 819). It is also decorated with the repeating panel-work, which from these examples at Gloucester spread all over the island, and is characteristic of the work of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in England.

The typical vaulting of the Perpendicular style was also invented at Gloucester. The sanctuary vault is supported on an overintricate network of principal ribs, liernes, and tiercerons of the florid late Decorated style; the ribs, instead of making the vault more beautiful, as usual in Gothic design, form only a tangled surface decoration which confuses the eye. The vault of

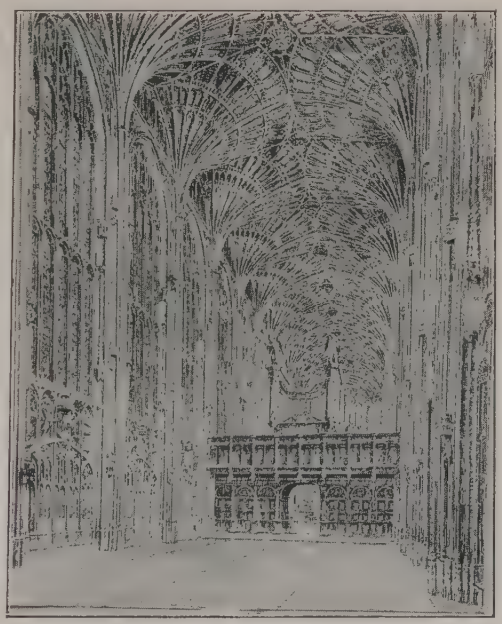

Fig. 821. — Vaults of the chapel of King's College.

Fig. 822.—Pendant vault of the chapel of Henry VII. Westminster Abbey.

the cloister (1351-1412) is an evident improvement. Here the vaulting trumpets are made surfaces of revolution and covered with decorative panel-work in harmony with that on the walls (fig. 820). A larger example of this kind of vaulting is to be seen at King's College Chapel, Cambridge. From its resemblance to a series of open fans it has received the name fan vaulting. Well handled, it is a stately form (fig. 821).

But the English builders were not content with even this innovation. In daring later work the fans are pushed forward on struts which form parts of otherwise concealed transverse arches. The vault seems to rest on pendants in a most astonishing manner (fig. 822), and indeed such a vault must be carried out in cut stone, so that it is no longer Gothic in structure. It need hardly be remarked that these vaults are marvels of skillful stonecutting. The example given covers the funerary chapel of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey (1500 to 1512).

All of these periods produced charming parish churches in England. Those of the Perpendicular style are perhaps the most numerous and typical. Many are roofed with carved open trusses and paneling, so effectively managed as to be really a monumental form similar to truss-work in a civil building. In the Decorated and Perpendicular periods an abundance of church furniture and fittings was produced, particularly stone and wooden screens, retablos, canopied stalls, and tombs, some of which have come down to us, though much was sacrificed to the fury of the restorers of a century ago. These men did not recognize the value of such incidental additions in giving charm, scale, and a touch of personality to the interiors; they sought the open vistas familiar in Renaissance architecture, and the old cathedrals suffered much in consequence. A tremendous amount of old stained glass and figure carving perished at the hands of the

Fig. 823. — Carnarvon Castle.

Puritan reformers, who were iconoclasts, but much remains to attest the skill of the mediaeval artists in these fields.

The history of glass-painting exhibits the same phases as that of the Continent: the Early English work is arranged as small-scale subjects in medallions, the later set against a patternwork background; in the Decorated style monumental figures appear, surrounded by canopies and running ornament, but the windows are less interesting in color and design — it remained for the artists of

Fig. 824. — Interior of the Great Hall.
HAMPTON COURT.

Fig. 825. — Trinity College.
CAMBRIDGE.

Fig. 826.—Compton Wynyates. Warwickshire.

the Decorated period to renew the tradition of sumptuous color while maintaining large scale and introducing sophisticated drawing.

The examples of domestic architecture which have come down to us are largely of the Perpendicular period. There are, particularly in the north and west, romantic remains of earlier castles (fig. 823). In plan they present the usual scheme of protected wall, court, and donjon or keep. By far the most accessible example is the Tower of London. Some remains of conventual architecture have survived—at Durham, for instance, the cathedral still preserves its cloister and subsidiary buildings fairly complete, while at the neck of the peninsula where the cathedral stands, the mediaeval bishop's castle still rears its picturesque bulk. At Wells the old fortifications of the bishop's palace remain, including a moat which is still kept full of water. With the more settled conditions of the late mediaeval period, such fortifications came to have a less and less formidable character, though a reminiscence of them lives on in the decorative battlement ranges of the Tudor and Elizabethan houses.

The English house differs a good deal in plan from the Continental, as a result of its origin. In its rude beginnings it was a simple roofed hall with a hearth. With increasing wealth and fastidiousness, the various functions of the household were given compartments to themselves. The lord and lady provided themselves with private apartments (the term *drawing-room* comes from *withdrawing-room*, a place apart from the hall, which was given over to retainers and servants). The *bower* (boudoir) was added for the lady. As ideas of comfort and manners improved, the kitchen and dining-room, then the servants' quarters, were built as separate parts of the house. The result is that the hall in a modern house has retained only its function as an entrance, and is commonly a mere passageway. In late Gothic times it still had considerable dignity, as we see from the fine hall in Cardinal Woolsey's palace of Hampton Court (fig. 824). Similar halls occur in the interesting college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge; the illustration, figure 825, shows a typical gate tower, evidently military in origin, but harmless, like most of the military motives found in buildings of the period.

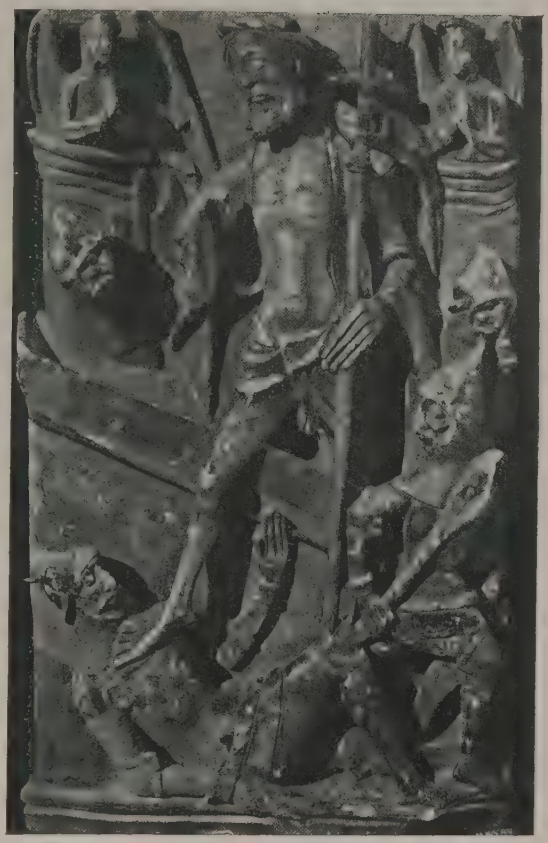

Fig. 827. — Resurrection of Christ. English alabaster relief. *(Museum of Cordova.)*

The last two buildings cited are constructed in brick, a material known in England in Roman times, which rather drops out of sight during the period when the great ecclesiastical structures were erected, but turns up again, to be used with excellent effect in the late Gothic period. Stone of course continued to be used. In simpler buildings half-timber is common; such structures are often roofed in thatch instead of the more permanent slate or lead. Several or all of these materials are often employed in a single old English house, with no feeling of incongruity because of the charming atmosphere of informality which pervades this domestic architecture. The larger country houses are the result of the accretions of centuries, and have the irregularities to be expected under the circumstances. Many of them extend, without any very scientific arrangement in plan, around the four sides of a court; others are simpler, while city houses are of necessity adapted to more crowded sites. One of the loveliest of the country places is Compton Wynyates, in Warwickshire, which like so many of its kind has a magnificent setting of park and garden (fig. 826).

The applied arts other than architecture continue their evolution in England during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries without diverging much from the traditions of the Norman schools. A few altar-pieces, frescoes, and miniatures reflecting English taste during this period of French influence, have been preserved. But in a book of this kind the consideration of the English school of painting may well begin with the arrival of Holbein in England at the time of Henry VII, and it is reserved for a subsequent chapter.

There are no very notable examples of English mediaeval figure sculpture on a monumental scale, excepting, perhaps, the carvings on the façade of the cathedral at Wells, where there was a vigorous local school. Some tombs have come down to us: several admirable examples in Westminster Abbey exhibit fine recumbent royal figures in gilded bronze. During the Fourteenth Century a

Fig. 828. — Cathedral of Nicosia. Cyprus.

school of relief carving on alabaster produced much interesting work, which was eagerly bought by Continental magnates. The range of subjects (not very wide) includes the Ascension, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the like.

English embroidery was also famous, and examples of it are still to be found in the treasuries of Continental cathedrals. We may refer in passing to colored tile, specimens of which are found in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere.

Palestine, Cyprus and the Latin Orient. — We now come to the manifestations of Gothic art in Palestine, Cyprus and the Latin Orient. The political result of the Crusades in the East was, for the time being, the establishment of the Frankish Kingdom at Jerusalem. The first buildings of the Crusaders were constructed in the Romanesque style, as we have already seen in our study of Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Later, when the Gothic style already formed in Europe was brought to the Holy Land, affairs were in a critical condition at Jerusalem. Without the walls, the Moslems were becoming bolder every day, and within, the barons were weakening their cause by internal struggles. Nevertheless, even in Jerusalem itself we still find the remains of some excellent Gothic architecture. The Holy City, lost at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, was recaptured and held for a few years by Frederick II, who brought in a number of French architects. This would explain the Gothic style of the tower, or belfry, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There are still two Gothic cathedrals in Palestine. One is at Sebaste, or Samaria, where tradition places the martyrdom and tomb of John the Baptist, and the other is at Tortosa near the sea. The locality is famous as being connected with certain legends of a well of St. Peter, which still exists on the spot. The former structure is in

a comparatively good state of preservation. There are no sculptures inside or out, only a simple moulding on the façade, which is flanked by two towers. The vaults are groined in the nave and two aisles, each of which consists of three bays. The plan of the cathedral of Tortosa is entirely Romanesque, but the capitals and windows are in the early Gothic style of the Thirteenth Century. These ruins are located within the fortified enclosure of an abandoned city dominated by a castle, also the work of the Crusaders, which is very similar to many of the French castles. There also appears to have been another Gothic church, at St. Jean d'Acre, which was built when this city was the only one remaining in the power of the Crusaders. We even know the name of its architect, Corneille de Bruyn, a Frenchman. When Sultan Kalaum captured the city, he carried away as a trophy one of the doors, which is still to be seen on his tomb at Cairo. It is decorated with delicate mouldings, both on the jambs and on the arches, and gives us a good idea of the excellent taste of the artists who worked at Jerusalem during the last days of the Latin kingdom. The church at Acre seems to have had a nave and two aisles, but no exterior buttresses. The façade was divided into three parts, each containing a rose window, the three forming a triangle.

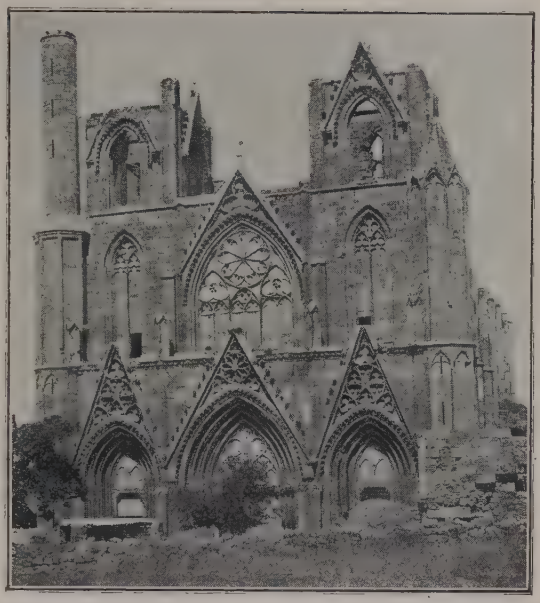

Fig. 829. — Cathedral of Famagusta. Cyprus.

There are in Palestine many Crusaders' castles which defended the Frankish Kingdom; and here the Templars made their desperate resistance against Moslem aggression. French investigators have taken advantage of the military occupation of Syria since the late war to make a study of some of these castles, but the largest, the famous Krak-des-Chevaliers, has been well known for a long time. It has three enclosures, approached by ramps, or inclined roadways, and from a military point of view it was probably superior to any of the castles erected in the Occident during this period (fig. 856).

After they had made their last stand at Jerusalem, the defenders of the Holy Land took refuge in Cyprus. The island had been conquered a century before by Richard Coeur de Lion, but the Kingdom of Cyprus did not become a centre of attraction for the inhabitants of the Latin Orient until the end of the Thirteenth Century. When St. Louis stopped at the island on his way to Egypt, many of the French colonists who accompanied him, intending to settle

Fig. 830. — Old towers and walls. Rhodes.

in the Nile Valley after its conquest, remained in Cyprus. Indeed, subsequent to the failure of his Egyptian expedition, many soldiers of the defeated army returned here. The noble and devout French family governing the island, the Lusignans, were able to reconcile the religious differences of the inhabitants, for Cyprus had been Byzantine and the old inhabitants and monks were Orthodox Greek and naturally would be subject to the Patriarch at Constantinople. A Latin archbishop took his seat at Nicosia and immediately proceeded to erect a cathedral in the Gothic style (fig. 828). The work seems to have been begun in 1193, and an architect was brought from France to direct operations. The apse is very similar to that of Notre Dame at Paris. It is interesting to note, however, that the ambulatory was built of the old columns from an early Byzantine cathedral which had been demolished to make room for the new and larger Gothic structure. The cathedral of Nicosia may not have been completed; at any rate it is now converted into a mosque, and the Turks have added round minarets. Another Gothic cathedral, now in ruins, is to be seen on the island, that of Famagusta. The details of the façade are very beautiful (fig. 829). There were also Latin churches in Paphos and Limasol, but little remains of them today.

The ornamentation of the buildings of the Crusaders in Palestine is scanty, but the cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta have somewhat the same sculptural decoration.

In addition to religious edifices, the princes of the House of Lusignan also erected a number of strongholds in Cyprus, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the plains and mountains of the island. The most famous of these is that of Buffavento. Its double enclosure is set upon a peak so inaccessible that it would seem to require but little defence. Many portions of the inner fortress of Kyrenia are still in a good state of preservation, and here we obtain a good idea of the common use of the groined Gothic vaults by the Crusaders. They are employed to cover the cisterns as well as the living apartments.

In the Peloponnesus, Thessaly and Negropont (or Euboea), indeed, in the various territories taken from the Byzantine Empire, we find Western European nobles and their men-at-arms establishing themselves about the end of the Thirteenth Century. Sometimes they were French and Italians; again they were bands of Aragonese whom the kings of Sicily had sent to the aid of the Em-

peror of Constantinople. The old Greek citadels are still crowned with the frowning strongholds of these Occidental warriors; their vast enclosures often take in two or three hills, and the central castle is built largely of blocks of marble from the ancient Greek structures. Such a castle had its little Gothic church with a battlemented tower not unlike those of the defences. At Thebes the Frankish castle now serves as a museum. There is another at Amphissa, but the most interesting of all is the one on the Acropolis of Athens, the castle of Cetines, as the Catalans called it. The ancient walls of Cimon were crowned with mediaeval battlements, which recently were still in place. Until the year 1880 the high square Tower of the Franks stood in front of the Propylaea, defending the approach to the Acropolis, giving it the appearance of an Occidental fortress.

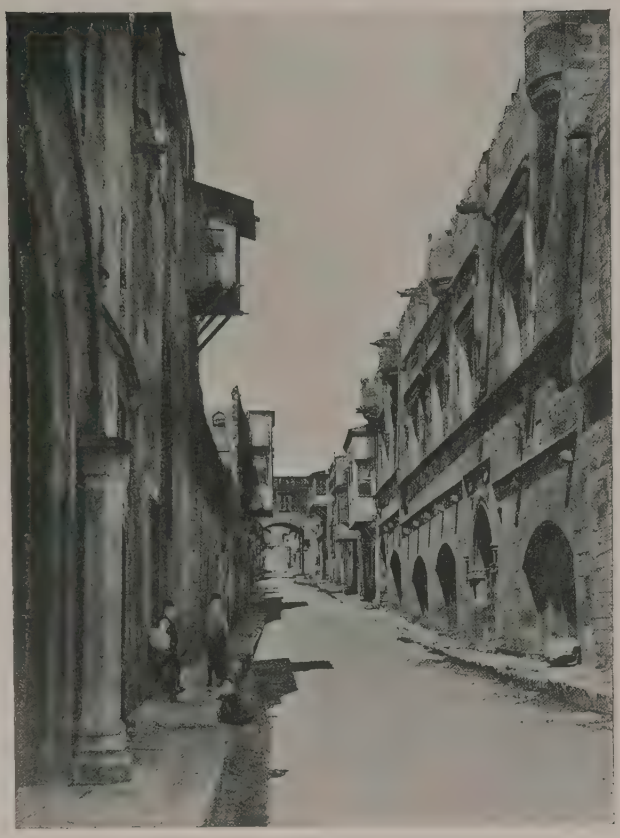

Fig. 831. — Street of the Knights. Rhodes.

On the Island of Rhodes there is also a number of mediaeval monuments which were constructed by people from Western Europe. For more than a century the island was subject to the Order of the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, who conquered it in 1310. The Grand Master with his court of priors, each representing his respective country, had their official residence in Rhodes. They constructed the priories on the principal street of the city, which is still called the Street of the Knights (fig. 831). The palace of each prior was built more or less in accordance with the style of the country which he represented. Nevertheless, the nearness of the Orient stamped these buildings with a character all their own (fig. 830). They are now disfigured by Turkish additions; the same was true of the city-gates, but these have been restored by the Italians who now occupy the island.

Summary. — Gothic art was introduced into Germany after the style had been already formed in the middle of the Thirteenth Century. On the banks of the Rhine we find three cathedrals built in the pure Gothic style, Strassbourg, Freiburg and Cologne. The municipal buildings and guildhalls built in Germany during this period are also worthy of mention. Their façades are often covered with frescoes, sculptures and verses in Gothic letters. On the city squares they erected handsome polychrome fountains, ornamented with sculptures representing popular heroes or personifications of the vices and virtues. On the banks of the Danube are also three great cathedrals, at Ulm, Ratisbon and Vienna, the last distinguished by its beautiful tower of florid late Gothic style. In Bohemia is the cathedral of Prague, built by a French architect, and in Poland, the handsome University building at Cracow. In the latter the Gothic style has already become localized. We might also mention the Gothic cathedral of Riga in Esthonia, and that of Abo in Finland. Belonging to this style are the cathedrals of Upsala in Sweden and Roskilde in Denmark. The style was introduced into Switzerland from two quarters: from the North, the German cathedrals of Basel and Berne; and from the West, the pure French cathedrals at Lausanne and Geneva. In Belgium the largest cathedral is that of Antwerp, which has a nave and six aisles. The cathedral of Brussels and the apse of that of Tournai date from the Thirteenth Century. But in the Low Countries the most interesting structures are the *Halles* and the municipal buildings. In England the early Gothic style was purely French; it was followed by a more national style of architecture called the Perpendicular. In the English cathedrals we find a square east end, usually without an ambulatory. There is also a tower over the crossing. Gothic architecture was introduced into Palestine and Cyprus by the Crusaders, and into the Island of Rhodes by the Hospitalers.

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Fig. 832. — Tomb of one of the archbishops of Saarwerden. Cologne Cathedral.

Fig. 833. – Cowled figures on the tomb of Marguerite de Bourbon. *(Church of Brou.)* Bourg.

CHAPTER XX

THE REVIVAL OF ART AT THE COURT OF BURGUNDY.
FLEMISH ART IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — THE BROTHERS VAN EYCK.
VAN DER WEYDEN. VAN DER GOES. MEMLING AND GERARD DAVID.

In the preceding chapters we have traced the spread of Gothic art. During two centuries Europe was Gothic and French, but in time each country adapted this style to the psychology of its own people. In Italy at the end of the Fourteenth Century we find a new style of painting and sculpture. After having learned its lesson from Gothic France, we shall find all Europe accepting the teachings of Italy during the period of the Renaissance.

Nevertheless, there suddenly appeared in the Low Countries a succession of great painters who form an exception to this general trend of art, for they took no part in the Italian Renaissance, nor do they seem to have derived their art from that of mediaeval France.

The two whom we might call the originators of the Flemish school were the brothers van Eyck, two very eminent artists. Seldom, indeed, two men had a more artistic temperament. Hubert and Jan van Eyck are still named with the utmost respect, but although the world is continually gaining a better knowledge of their admirable work, we shall see how little is known of their lives.

In recent years some facts have been ascertained regarding the origin of the Flemish school and the precursors of these illustrious but little known painters. For the present, the antecedents of their art seem to have been in

Fig. 834. — Saint George. Chapel of the dukes of Burgundy. *(Museum of Dijon.)*

royal domain. Moreover, at the death of John the Good the duchy fell to the brother of the king and of the Duc de Berry, who was a great patron of the arts. So at the end of the Fourteenth Century we find Charles V of France, the bibliophile and dilettante Duc de Berry, and the Duke of Burgundy, the husband of the Countess of Flanders, all of the House of Valois, and all three with a fondness for art which they had inherited from their father, John the Good.

Attracted by the more refined life of France, the dukes of Flanders and Holland had no truly great artistic traditions prior to the appearance of these extraordinary men.

There is little difficulty, however, in explaining how this artistic vigor came to pass over to the Low Countries. One of the great feudal duchies of France was that of Burgundy, which became united with the Low Countries through the marriage of the heiress of the Counts of Flanders with the Duke of Burgundy. This was John the Good, the son of the king of France.

Thus the rolling vine-clad hills and pleasant valleys between the Rhone and the Loire came to have the same rulers as the Low Countries on the other side of the

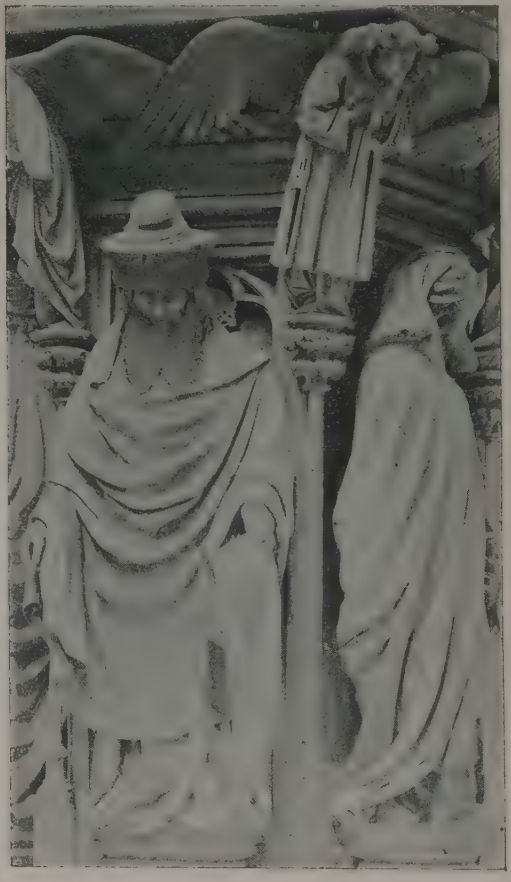

Fig. 835.—Statue of Zachariah. *Well of Moses.* DIJON.

The Well of Moses, by Claus Sluter. *(Carthusian monastery of Champmol.)* BURGUNDY.

Fig. 836. — Tomb of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy. The work of Juan de la Huerta. *(Museum of Dijon.)*

ders and Burgundy spent the greater part of the time either at Paris or at the little Burgundian court at Dijon. So instead of French artists going to Flanders, Flemish artists came to Paris and Dijon, where they acquired the fine feeling and elegance of Gothic France, which by this time was in need of new and fresh blood. These Flemish artists did not confine themselves to working for the dukes of Burgundy. The court painter of Charles V was an artist from Bruges by the name of Jean Bandol, and the Duc de Berry also gave employment in his palace to a number of Flemish painters and miniaturists.

But after the death of the Duc de Berry, when the royal domain of France became the scene of a civil conflict, Burgundy was the only safe asylum for the artists of France, and Dijon, its capital, became the most important centre of Gothic art during the last years of this period. The first work of these new

PHOT. GIRAUDON

Fig. 837. — Tomb of Philippe Pot, Seneschal of Burgundy. *(Louvre.)*

Fig. 838. — Virgin of the Annunciation, by the brothers Van Eyck. *Polyptych of the Lamb.*

dukes of Flanders and Burgundy at Dijon was a Carthusian monastery, which was to contain the tombs of the reigning family. The site chosen was the meadow of Champmol just outside the city gate. The structure was begun in 1385, and work on the sculptures and other decorations continued well into the Fifteenth Century. The Duke of Burgundy sent for artists from Flanders, and the Dijon masters were sent, for instruction, to the Paris schools and to the artists employed by the Duc de Berry at Mehun. The monastery at Champmol is today but a heap of ruins. Fortunately, however, the doorway remains intact with its statues of the dukes of Burgundy and of its patron saints, who worship the Virgin on the central column. These famous statues were the work of a Flemish sculptor named Claus Sluter. We know little or nothing of his origin and earlier work, only that he was a native of Holland, according to the documents. He entered the service of the Duke of Burgundy in 1393 and from that time on remained in Dijon engaged in working on the monastery. After he had finished his work on the façade, he undertook the execution of the Calvary, which seems to have occupied the centre of the cloistered court, although only its base remains. It is known today as the "Well of Moses," and, as a matter of fact, the pedestal really has the shape of a well-curb. The Crucifixion group and the statues of Mary, John and Mary Magdalene have disappeared, and only the hexagonal base is left, which is decorated with figures of angels and prophets. The angels are the smaller. They are weeping, and support the broad moulding of the pedestal on which the Crucifixion group formerly rested. Below are the six doctors of the Old Law who foresaw the coming of the Redeemer. The first and most pleasing figure is that of Moses; indeed, the well has been named after him. (Plate L.) He is dressed in a full mantle, which

gives him a majestic appearance. His long, parted beard is almost like a mane, and he wears the horns of Michelangelo's Moses. At his side is David. A crown is upon his head, and on his face a pensive expression, perhaps in memory of his sin. It is a noble and sad countenance, and kingly as well. Then come Jeremiah, Zachariah, Daniel and Isaiah. Each wears an expression and takes a posture that are in keeping with our conception of these prophets (fig. 835). Indeed, it is a marvelous piece of work. And most important of all is the date of its execution. A work of art is equally beautiful, no matter what its period, and the "well" of Claus Sluter would bring renown to any school or any time. Our astonishment is the greater, therefore, when we recall that this Moses was carved in the year 1400, more than a century before that of Michelangelo, and a hundred years before the prophets of the Sistine Chapel were carved.

Fig. 839.— Angel of the Annunciation, by the brothers Van Eyck. *Polyptych of the Lamb.*

After a work like the "well" of the monastery of Champmol, so reflective and so expressive and beautiful as well, we shall not be surprised at what we find in Flanders, and the appearance of such artists as the van Eycks in Burgundy and the Low Countries does not seem so impossible. Probably Hubert, the older brother, was working at Dijon when Sluter executed his Calvary. Indeed, the latter was not the only artist at this court: we learn from the documents and archives of the presence of a large company of painters and sculptors, although much of their work has been lost. The "Well of Moses," for example, was gilded and painted. It seems likely that if more of the mediaeval paintings of France had been preserved, the appearance of the van Eycks would not seem so mysterious. After all, it is rather unusual in the history of art for the critic to seek in Flanders for the antecedents of a school of painting, and then to find them in a school of sculp-

Fig. 840.—Portraits of Iodoc Vyd and his wife, by the brothers Van Eyck. *Polyptych of the Lamb*. GHENT.

ture, and in Burgundy at that. We know that there were Flemish painters at Dijon. The altars of the monastery were painted by one Malouel of Limburg Besides, the traditions of French Gothic painting must have still been very much alive. Italians and Spaniards also flocked to the court of the dukes of Burgundy; we know the name at least of an Aragonese sculptor, Juan de la Huerta, a native of Daroca. It seems likely that the art of Flanders, which became so popular in Spain, was influenced to some extent by the Catalan and Valencian painters of the early Fifteenth Century. This point is still being discussed and studied, and it lies outside the field of a work of this general character. Nevertheless, we should recognize the fact that certain coincidences occur which can be explained only by supposing an importation of some sort.

Be that as it may, the painters and sculptors of the Burgundian court about the year 1400 constituted the most important group of artists in either France or the Low Countries, and their activity lasted all during the Fifteenth Century. Sluter's work was carried on after his death by a nephew who executed some of the tombs of the dukes in collaboration with Juan de la Huerta, the Spaniard whom we have already mentioned. These Burgundian tombs take the form of a marble coffin ornamented with small figures of cowled monks. This type of mourning hooded figure became popular, and we find it spread over France and Spain during a considerable period (figs. 833, 836 and 837). Nevertheless, the revival of Gothic art at the court of Dijon would never have had such far-reaching consequences but for the appearance of the brothers van Eyck, and

Polyptych of the Lamb at St. Bavon (Ghent)

EVA

the school which they formed in Flanders.

Fig. 841. — Virgin and the chancellor Rubin, by Jan van Eyck. *(Museum of Louvre.)* PARIS.

We know little of the older brother, Hubert, who died some time before Jan. Both seem to have been natives of the little town of Maaseyck near Maastricht; at any rate, they were born in a Flemish-speaking district, for the notes on some of Jan's sketches, referring to the colors and giving details of the models, are written in Flemish. We have very little information regarding their family. Of Hubert it is known that he settled in Ghent, where he planned a reredos and painted a statue for the magistrates of this city. This seems very little for a great master like Hubert van Eyck or even for his contemporaries. It appears certain that he died in September, 1426, leaving unfinished one of the most extraordinary creations ever painted. The work was continued by his younger brother, Jan, who was already court painter of the Duke of Burgundy. Thus we see the combined work of Hubert and Jan in the glorious polyptych called the Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb, which the former had begun some years before his death and which Jan did not complete until the year 1432.

The inscription of the border, or frame, of the polyptych does not declare which portion of the work is to be ascribed to either brother. It tells us only that "the painter, Hubert van Eyck, greater than any other, began this work which Jan, his brother and second in his art, undertook to complete at the instance of Iodoc Vyd. Set in place May 6th, 1432."

In what state did Hubert leave the polyptych of the Mystic Lamb? At whose instance was the work begun and which part is to be ascribed to Jan? And why did Jodocus Vijdts, the burgomaster, take an interest in the matter and place the work in his chapel of the church of St. Bavon? There have been many different answers to these questions, but the only positive fact is that the polyptych aroused great admiration from the moment it was exhibited. People came from everywhere and viewed it with amazement. Hubert van Eyck appears to have been buried at the foot of this very altar. During the Revolution it was carried off to Paris, but it was later rescued and restored to its original position, al-

Fig. 842. — Jan van Eyck's portrait of his wife. *(Town Gallery.)* BRUGES.

Fig. 843. — Jan van Eyck. An squire of the order of S. Anthony *(Royal Gallery.)* BERLIN.

though not in a complete state. The painted doors, which were also brought back to Ghent, were not set above the altar, but were sold by the chapter. Eventually, however, they were purchased by the Prussian Government for 400,000 francs. Down to the time of the late war they were preserved in the Museum of Berlin, but the Treaty of Versailles compelled the Germans to restore them to their original owners, and in 1920 the polyptych of the van Eyck brothers stood again complete in the church of St. Bavon at Ghent.

The work is so large that we reproduce it as a whole in a double-page plate. (Plate LI.) In the upper centre we see the Eternal Father on his throne, accompanied by Mary and John. Thus we have the three beings in Heaven and on earth who most loved the Divine Lamb. This imposing group is something quite new; we see the Beloved Disciple and the Virgin Mother united in glory with the Eternal, as though manifesting the truth that Heaven and earth are one in love. On either side is a marvelous group of angels who sing and play instruments of music, thus displaying their joy over the work of redemption. At either end are Adam and Eve, for whom the work was acomplished. These are nude figures. These seven panels constitute the upper zone. Below there are only five, but they form a unique scene, the Adoration of the Lamb by all that is most noble in humanity. We have still the apocalyptic vision, but it is transfigured and humanized by centuries and centuries of Christian meditation. Some of the themes are

Fig. 844. — Portrait of husband and wife, by Jan van Eyck. *(National Gallery.)* LONDON.

taken from the Book of Revelation. A sacrificed white lamb lies upon an altar standing in a flowery meadow, and we recall the words of the Apocalypse: «And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne... Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing." Again we read: "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude,... stood before the Lamb clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands." St. John continues: "And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it... And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb." The fountain of life is represented as a Gothic pavilion from the base of which flows the water, but the magnificent vision of the Apocalypse, as treated during the Romanesque period, with its beasts and symbols, has been converted into a scene of adoration only. From the four corners of the central picture four groups approach to adore the Lamb: the Fathers of the Church, the Doctors, the Virgins and the Martyrs. On the two panels to the left we see the flowery landscape and two other groups of personages on horseback. These are the Knights of Christ and the Just Judges. From the right the Hermits and Pilgrims advance, before them the enormous figure of St. Christopher bearing his great staff. The church-towers rising on the luminous horizon symbolize the Universal Church united in the faith, as we find it foretold in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians and again in Ephesians: "For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

We can hardly say, therefore, that the Adoration of the Lamb is really the vision of the Apocalypse. It is rather that of the Church awaiting the second coming of Christ. From an artist's point of view, perhaps, it does not matter so much just what is the theological significance of the production. What is more important is the miracle of beauty, the light, the color and the inspiration with which this great altar-piece is painted. The tones are intense reds, brilliant

Fig. 845. — The Virgin and Child.
School of the van Eycks. *(Museum of Brussels).*

blues, and greens that are almost metallic. The luminous backgrounds suggest the transparent atmosphere of a southern country. There are grounds for believing that the central scene representing the Lamb was painted by Hubert, or at least blocked in by him. The lateral panels, however, were probably the work of Jan, who had travelled in Portugal and Andalusia and had seen the palms, pines and cypresses which appear in the background.

While Hubert remained by himself, meditating on the great reredos of the Mystic Lamb, Jan was making frequent journeys on confidential missions for his friend and master, Philip III, Duke of Burgundy. Although often a contemplative spirit is tempered and purified in the heat of a true enthusiasm for art, Jan does not appear to have been such a mystic or so learned in divine knowledge as his brother Hubert. On the other hand, he was a remarkable portrait-painter and an acute student of human nature. For this reason, perhaps, the Duke of Burgundy often sent him on *voyaiges secrets, en certains lieux, dont il ne veult aultre declaration estre faite*, as we read in the old documents. He made one of these journeys in August of 1426 and another in 1427, from which he returned in February of the following year. It seems likely that this was on the occasion of the embassy of the Duke of Burgundy to Alfonso V of Aragon at Valencia, to sue for the hand of the daughter of the famous Count of Urgel, James the Unfortunate.

In this case, Jan would have visited Eastern Spain. We know that in January, 1429, he accompanied the embassy which was sent to arrange the marriage of the duke with Isabella of Portugal, for the negotiations for the hand of the daughter of the Count of Urgel had failed. Two detailed accounts of this mission have come down to us, which tell of a portrait of the Infanta which was painted and sent to the duke. *Avec ce, les dits ambaxadeurs, par ung nomme maistre Jehan de Eyck, varlet de chambre de mon dit seigneur de Bourgoingne et excellent maistre en art de painture, firent paindre bien au vif la figure de ma dite dame l'infante Elizabeth.*

While awaiting a reply from the duke, the ambassadors, and with them Jan, made a pilgrimage to Santiago in Galicia, visiting the courts of Castile and Granada, *et pluiseurs autres seigneurs, pays et lieux.*

The account of this embassy does not tell us explicitly that they went to

Fig. 846. — Donor and John the Baptist, by Robert Campin. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

PHOTOS ANDERSON

Fig. 847. — St. Barbara, by Robert Campin. *(Prado.)* MADRID.

Eastern Spain, but it is probable that Jan came another time. At least we cannot but suspect that this was the case from the very early enthusiasm displayed for the works of the van Eycks in Catalonia and Valencia. We find certain themes, taken from these artists in retablos of those provinces, which do not appear to have been painted later than the first half of the Fifteenth Century. An excellent example is the one in the South Kensington Museum.

The conquest of Naples by Alfonso V of Aragon contributed not a little to the spread of a love for Flemish painting. We know that a triptych by Jan van Eyck at Naples, belonging to King Alfonso, was greatly admired, and that a painting of St. George by the same artist was purchased by a merchant of Valencia for its weight in gold.

Fig. 848.—Descent from the Cross, by Rogier van der Weyden. *(Escorial.)* MADRID.

The admiration for the works of the van Eycks was not confined to Eastern Spain, however. The Duke of Uceda had a Virgin by Jan, "painted with the greatest beauty and nicety," and there is still in Spain the famous altar-piece from the monastery of Parral, now in the Prado, which is ascribed to the van Eycks. The latter represents the Fountain of Life and seems to be either an anticipation of the Adoration of the Lamb, or a commentary on it. (Plate LII.) Some regard it as the work of Hubert, others believe it to be the work of one of his pupils, a Spaniard, perhaps. In any case we find in the Parral painting the themes and the style of the Ghent altar-piece. We see the Eternal Father on his throne, also John, Mary and the angels, the Lamb, the Fountain of Life, the Fathers of the Church and the Doctors of the Synagogue, the last guiding the blind, who will not come to the fountain of redemption.

As we have already noted, the Parral altar seems to be the work of Hubert, for we see in it the same divine science as that of the reredos at Ghent. Jan was never as subtile. The religious paintings signed by him after 1432 are simply Virgins or saints in the cold interior of a Gothic church; it is the kneeling figure of the donor that is always the interesting part of the picture. His Flemish beauties, with their fine golden hair, charm us with their youthful freshness, but they do not inspire any great devotion. But the portraits of the personages at the feet of the saints and Virgins are always remarkable studies of human nature.

For this reason Jan van Eyck is one of the greatest portrait-painters the world has ever produced. In vigor and energy his portraits even surpass those of the painters of the Italian Renaissance. This may not be true of the atmos-

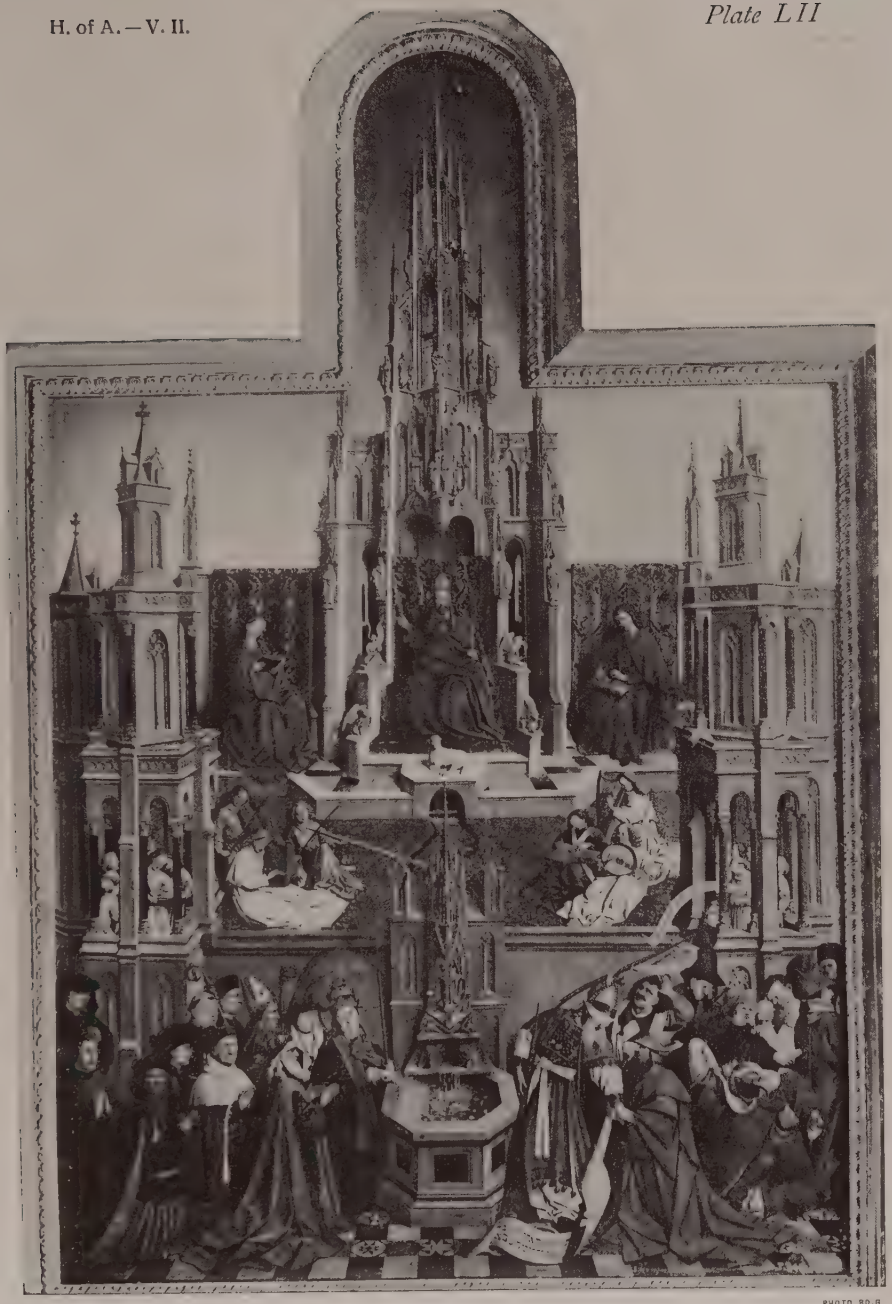

PHOTO RO-B

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE

Altar-piece ascribed to the brothers Van Eyck. From the monastery of Parral.
(Prado Museum.) MADRID.

PHOTO BRUCKMANN

Fig. 849. — Adoration of the Shepherds, by van der Goes. *(Museum of Berlin.)*

phere surrounding the subject, as in the case of Velasquez, but the careful details of Jan van Eyck's portraits produce a greater effect of reality. We reproduce that of his wife, who was named Marguerite (fig. 842), and one of a knight of the order of St. Anthony, called "the man with the pinks" (fig. 843). Perhaps the finest is the supposed portrait of the Italian merchant, Arnolfini, and his wife in their bridal chamber (fig. 845). This was painted and signed by Jan in 1434. It is now believed to be a portrait of himself and his wife, Marguerite.

PHOTO ANDERSON

Fig. 850. — Adoration of the Shepherds, by van der Goes. *(Uffizi Gallery.)* FLORENCE.

Fig. 851.—Last Judgment, by Memling. *(Church of St. Mary.)* DANTZIG.

Jan van Eyck died in 1441, fifteen years after the death of his brother, Hubert. The dukes, who had been his protectors and patrons during his career, cared for his wife and daughter, but we have no authentic biography of the painter himself. We know a little more of him than of Hubert. We have the signatures on his paintings, and the treasury accounts mention him a number of times; but there is hardly even a legend of his personal life. The peoples of the Low Countries were not so interested in collecting the biographical details and tracing the careers of their painters as were the Italians.

The same is true of the pupils and contemporaries of the van Eycks. One of these, Robert Campin, has only been identified in recent years; this great artist was known only as the Master of Flemalle, after the little town where the best of his pictures is preserved. He worked in Tournai from 1406 to 1444, so he is rather a contemporary than a successor of the van Eycks (figs. 846 and 847). A disciple of his from Tournai worked in Brussels during the last years of his life. The Flemish call this painter Rogier van der Weyden, but he was really Roger de la Pasture, the name by which he was known at Tournai.

Van der Weyden has a dryer and more angular style than the van Eycks, but at the same time he is more dramatic. He has not the religious inspiration of Hubert or the searching scrutiny of Jan which reproduced with startling frankness the personal traits of his sitters. Van der Weyden, too, was a traveller. We find particular mention of the trip which he made to Italy. The Italians greatly admired his work, and he in turn attempted to imitate them, but the two spirits could never merge. The Italian painters did not turn from their efforts to restore the classical spirit, nor could those of the Low Countries ever really understand

Fig. 852.—Descent from the Cross. Triptych by Hans Memling.

the Italian Renaissance. We find in Rogier van der Weyden the best example of what a contact between Northern and Southern Europe could produce; everything else was merely a deterioration and not a transformation. We reproduce his altar-piece in the Escorial. It is a Descent from the Cross in his earlier manner which was painted for the Company of Archers of Louvain. The composition is a tragic one and this sensation is increased by the angular folds of the garments which clothe the figures. The personages, worn with anguish and grief, wear large head-dresses and turbans (fig. 848).

The lofty spirit of Hubert found no successor, but Jan and Rogier van der Weyden had a number of pupils who were for many years a credit to their schools. The Virgin and Child at Brussels (fig. 845) will give us an idea of the Madonnas in the style of the van Eycks which were so greatly prized at the end of the Fifteenth Century and are still much admired. They are Flemish and Dutch maidens seated upon a Gothic throne, either holding a book in their hands, or on their knees the thin figure of the Child Jesus. In the same manner, the taste for genre-pictures continued. We see picturesque Flemish interiors with their elegant furniture and neat ornamentation carefully depicted. They give us an idea of the prosperity enjoyed in the Low Countries under the dukes of Burgundy. Another of the Ghent painters was Hugo van der Goes, who was probably born about 1440 in the little town of Goes in Zeeland. In his work we find Flemish painting taking another step in the direction of realism. His masterpiece is the triptych which he painted for Tommaso Portinari, a Florentine banker who was the agent for the Medici at Bruges (fig. 850). He did little beside this, and retired to a convent, where he died insane. Consequently another

Fig. 853. — Baptism of Christ, with donors and patrons. Work of Gerard David.
(Museum of Bruges.)

work of his, which appeared in the Museum of Berlin in 1903, is very highly prized. It is from Monforte in Spain and was probably the centre panel of a triptych which Cardinal Rodrigo de Castro donated to this town (fig. 849).

Thanks to the patient investigations of J. Weale, we know more of the lives of some of the other Flemish artists. This Dutch critic for many years published extracts from the documents of the archives in which he found references to the artists of the Low Countries. His publication is called *Le Befroi*. Weale it was who cleared up many of the details of Memling's life and gave to the world the complete facts concerning Gerard David, the last great master of this school. Memling is believed by some to have been a German; we know that he visited the Rhine cities from Basel to Cologne, possibly on his return from a journey to Italy like that of his master, van der Weyden. We know nothing of his origin, but his connection with Rogier van der Weyden is very evident. He worked at Bruges from 1491 to 1498, when his genius was at its height. His master-piece is the triptych which he painted for the agent of the Medici at Bruges, but which was taken by the Germans from the vessel on which it was being shipped to Florence. It is now at Dantzig (fig. 851).

Memling's work is almost contemporary with that of van der Goes, but it lacks the admirable vigor of the paintings of the van Eycks and of van der Weyden. He takes the same themes but subdues them; we might rather say that he envelops them in an atmosphere of obscurity which produces a somewhat theatrical effect. His portraits have never lost their attraction; we find the donors portrayed on the lateral panels of his triptychs, accompanying their

saintly protectors (fig. 852). As the Dantzig triptych is little known and his minor works are widely scattered, the Shrine of St. Ursula which he painted is the more admired. This precious reliquary is in the Hospital of St. Jean at Bruges. It is known to have been completed in October, 1489; upon its six panels are scenes from the life of St. Ursula, not unlike miniatures (fig. 855). These are worthy of special attention. The death of the saint (fig. 854) is the sixth of the scenes. There are also the paintings at either end. In one we find St. Ursula accompanied by a group of Virgins, and on the other, a Virgin and Child together with Sisters of the Hospital.

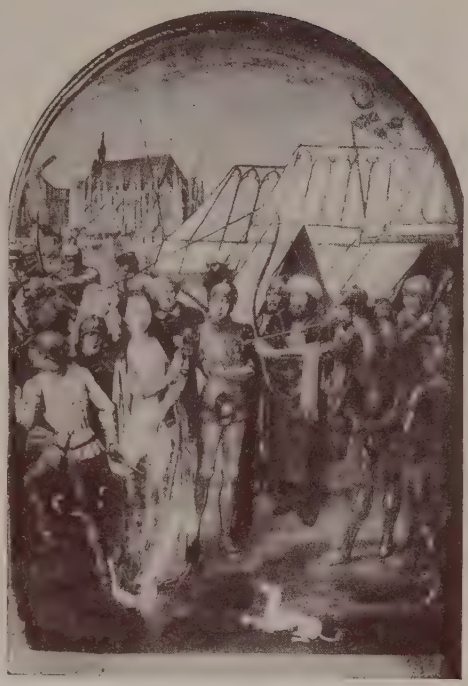

Fig. 854. — St. Ursula's martyrdom, by Memling. (From the shrine of her relics.) BRUGES.

Memling had a pupil and successor, Gerard David, whose personality had attracted little attention until the exhibition of early Flemish paintings at Bruges in 1902. According to the documents published by Weale, we learn that he was a native of Oudewater in Holland, where he was born in 1460. In 1483 he settled in Bruges, where he worked more or less in the style of Memling, although his pictures and triptychs are somewhat more peaceful and luminous (fig. 853).

Gerard David was the last great painter at Bruges. After the death of the last duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bald, his daughter, who inherited his possessions, married Maximilian of Hapsburg. The result was a political struggle and the decadence of Flemish art. Bruges ceased to be a seaport and became a second rate city. The school of artists which had made its centre at this city soon disappeared. When it later reappears we shall find it in other cities of Flanders and Holland. Strangely enough, the last refuge of Flemish art was in Spain. A student of early Flemish paintings is obliged to go to Spain if he wishes to make a thorough study of the subject. There is a paragraph in *Las Fundaciones* by St. Theresa which gives us some idea of the admiration aroused by these Flemish paintings in Castile. "This nobleman," she writes, "(the lord of Cinco Villas) had founded a church for an image of Our Lady which is certainly worthy of veneration. His father had sent it from Flanders to his grandmother or mother (I do not recall which) by a merchant. His affection for it was such that he kept it many years, and later, before his death, he ordered it to be placed in a large retablo. Never in my life have I seen anything finer (and others say the same)."

Here we have a eulogy of Flemish painting by this famous Spanish saint and writer, at a time when the world already was familiar with the Italian Renaissance and when the admiration of van Eyck's successors had long given place to that of Raphael and his school.

Summary. – Through the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy, a prince of the royal family of France, with the Countess of Flanders, Burgundy and the Low Countries came to form an independent state. At the court at Dijon we find many French and Flemish artists and here began a revival of art which was most significant. Artists from Holland, like Claus Sluter, the sculptor of the "Well of Moses," worked on the Carthusian monastery of Champmol. Hubert van Eyck had begun the great altar-piece called the Adoration of the Lamb, which was completed by his brother, Jan. The latter was one of the greatest portrait-painters of all time. At least once he accompanied an embassy to Spain, where his pictures and other works were highly esteemed by the great art patrons of that country even during his own lifetime. Contemporary with van Eyck, there was at Brussels a painter popularly known as Rogier van der Weyden, which is only the translation of Roger de la Pasture. He was from Tournai and a worthy emulator of the van Eycks, although his portraits are inferior. Another famous painter of the period was Robert Campin, the so-called "Master of Flemalle." Later artists of this school were van der Goes and Gerard David. The latter was the last painter of Bruges.

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END OF VOLUME II

Fig. 855. — Shrine of St. Ursula. *(Hospital of St. Jean.)* BRUGES.

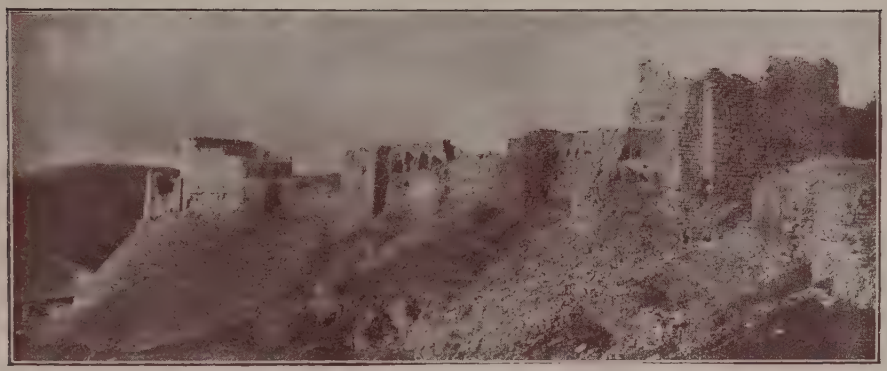

Fig. 856. — Krak-des-Chevaliers. Syria.

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Fig. 857. — Christian sarcophagus in the façade of the cathedral at Tarragona.

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